



STATE OF WASHINGTON  
PUBLIC DISCLOSURE COMMISSION

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**Political Spending by Major Interest Groups  
In Washington State, 1988-89**

January 1990

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*"The public's right to know of the financing of political campaigns and lobbying  
and the financial affairs of elected officials and candidates far outweighs  
any right that these matters remain secret and private."*

RCW 42.17.010 (10)

POLITICAL SPENDING BY MAJOR INTEREST GROUPS  
IN WASHINGTON STATE, 1988-89

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## FOREWORD

This report on Political Spending By Major Interest Groups In Washington State is possible for two very important reasons. First, those who conceived and wrote Initiative 276 nearly twenty years ago had the vision and foresight to capture in one place the spending associated with efforts to influence public policy at the state level, be it in the form of contributions to candidates for public office, proponents or opponents of ballot propositions, or lobbying the state legislature or state agencies. At the federal level and in most states, this same information, if it is available at all, is lodged in the files of two or more agencies. Having the data brought together in one place makes it possible develop a composite picture that will aid in public understanding of who it is that seeks to influence public policy, and the magnitude and intensity of their efforts.

The second reason is that since July, 1976, the Washington State Public Disclosure Commission has had Paul Gillie as its Research Director. Paul brought to the Commission an extensive and varied background in political activity in the state which gives him unusual insight into the data filed with the Commission. More important is his dedication to thoroughness, accuracy and impartiality. Paul has produced numerous significant reports and studies over the past 13 1/2 years, all without attribution. It's time that the world knew and appreciated the true talent responsible for them.

Graham E. Johnson, Executive Director  
Washington State Public Disclosure  
Commission

POLITICAL SPENDING BY MAJOR INTEREST GROUPS  
IN WASHINGTON STATE, 1988-89

Introduction

An important objective of campaign finance disclosure is to increase public understanding of the process by bringing it into the open light, but sometimes the detail of information that ends up reported on disclosure forms spins a web that obscures the view. From the required filings it is relatively easy for the citizen to learn the names of a campaign's contributors and the amounts given. To view a single campaign from a higher perspective or to get a more general picture of campaign finance it is necessary to examine the reports filed by a large number of candidates and political committees.

In its biennial Fact Book, the Public Disclosure Commission from 1978 through 1988 has compiled and published lists of major contributors to legislative and statewide campaigns. In the interest of increasing public awareness of how campaigns are financed, in ways more general than lists of specific contributors to specific campaigns, this study takes the additional steps of (1) identifying some groups of campaign contributors who have a common interest, (2) measuring the dollars such groups have given to some campaigns, and (3) doing some simple statistical analysis of the results of the first two steps. The first part of the study summarizes much of what can be learned from looking at a great number of campaign contribution reports.

The second part of the study summarizes the lobbying expenditures reported during the first three quarters of 1989, dividing them among the same groups used in the analysis of campaign contributions.

The result is a disclosure of the nature of the interest clusters that spend the most money in attempting to influence public decisions through campaign contributions and paid lobbyists.

The only sources of data for this study were the reports filed with the public disclosure commission by candidates, committees, lobbyists, and public agencies. It gathers information from a large number of individual reports and attempts to condense that information objectively in meaningful ways. It focuses on groups rather than on individual candidates, contributors, or lobbyists. It shows how many dollars entered the campaign stream from the various interest tributaries, and how many dollars were spent lobbying on behalf of each interest cluster. The study makes comparisons, but it makes no judgments.

Energy:petroleum  
Finance (banks, securities and investment firms)  
Fisheries  
Food/Beverage/Lodging  
Forest/Wood products  
Government (associations of county and local governments)  
Health care: facilities  
Health care: insurance  
Health care: practitioners  
Health care: products  
Insurance  
Law/Justice  
Manufacturing  
Mining  
Real Estate/Development (including property management)  
Recreation/Leisure: arts  
Recreation/Leisure: outdoor  
Religious organizations  
Retailing  
Social/Civic/Fraternal organizations  
Transportation: land  
Transportation: marine  
Transportation: air  
Unions: public employee  
Unions: teacher  
Unions: trade  
Utilities: broadcast  
Utilities: electric  
Utilities: telephone  
Utilities: water & waste

In addition to the above interest categories, some campaign contributions came from the following sources:

Lobbyists: Lobbying firms or individual contract lobbyists with a variety of clients where the contribution was not attributed to a specific employer.

Democratic or Republican Party: Official party organizations such as county, district, and state central committees as well as party-affiliated clubs.

Caucus committees: Committees established in both houses of the legislature by both major parties which received contributions and made contributions to candidates.

Transfers: Contributions from the campaign committee of a candidate or office holder to other candidates or committees.

Individuals: Contributions reported as coming from

persons and showing no affiliation with a company or organization. Washington law does not require that a contributor's occupation be listed, and no effort was made in this study to ascribe any individual's contributions to any economic or occupational category.

Candidates' own funds.

The roles that all of these source groups play in financing election campaigns in Washington state are described in this study, but the emphasis is on the identifiable interest categories.

The study also applies the same interest classifications to lobbying expenditures, measuring the dollars spent for lobbying purposes by the same categories during the legislative session that immediately followed the 1988 elections.

## CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

Except for some minor updating, the campaign contribution figures used in this study are the same as those used in the 1988 Campaign Finance Fact Book, and the study is an extension of that work. The information came from reports of contributions filed by the candidates and committees who received the contributions. In many cases, the contributor was also required to disclose the same transaction as an expenditure if the contributor happened to be a political committee, another candidate, a lobbyist, or an employer of a lobbyist. Only a small number of the contributions reported by recipients were checked against the filings of the contributors.

The contribution data base includes contributions reported by the following recipients:

- (1) amounts of \$500 or more reported for use in their 1988 campaigns by all candidates for governor;
- (2) amounts of \$150 or more reported for use in their 1988 campaigns for all candidates for the state legislature;
- (3) amounts of \$150 or more reported for use in their 1988 campaigns for all candidates for statewide office other than governor;
- (4) amounts of \$150 or more reported during the 1987-88 biennium by the Democratic and Republican state committees and by the Democratic and Republican caucus campaign committees in the two houses of the legislature;
- (5) amounts of \$150 or more reported by committees supporting three initiatives on the statewide ballot in November 1988.

There were more than 17,000 such contributions, all of which are listed in the appropriate places in the 1988 Fact Book. To reduce that many contributions to a manageable number, every one of them was classified according to what appeared to be the business, affiliation, or interest of the contributor if the contributor was an entity other than an individual or married couple, such as a corporation, PAC, or trade association. Aside from persons who are registered lobbyists, no attempt was made to assign individual persons to interest categories. In the course of the study, some contributors may have been assigned to inappropriate categories, but not enough to alter the general and relative measurement of the amounts spent by separate economic

interests to influence elections and legislation.

It should be noted and kept in mind that the analysis is restricted to what are termed "major contributions"--those at or above the \$150 threshold (\$500 for governor candidates). Excluded from the study are all contributions of lesser amounts. The significance of small contributions is not to be denied. Such contributions, which informal observation shows coming almost entirely from individuals rather than from organizations, play an important role in many campaigns. In the 1988 legislative campaigns, there were 10,334 contributions in the major contributor category of \$150 or more for a total of \$6.2 million, and approximately 55,000 smaller contributions that provided a total of \$2.8 million. The candidates for executive office other than that of governor reported 3,974 contributions for \$3.0 million at the \$150-and-more level, and 21,707 contributions in smaller amounts for a total of \$1.1 million. Thus, the typical legislative or executive candidate in 1988 had a base of about five smaller contributors giving less than \$150 for every major contribution of \$150 or more received, and about one-fourth of the total money received came from those smaller contributors. The subjects included in this study are those major contributors--about one-sixth of all contributors--who provided three-fourths of the money.

When an individual gives money to a campaign and is named in a candidate's reports as a contributor, the individual may be a friend or admirer of the candidate. He may also be an employee or stockholder of a business, or a dues-paying member of a union, profession, or trade association--any of which are interests--and he may identify his personal welfare with the legislative goals of that interest when he buys that ticket to a fund-raising event or writes that letter to his legislator. There was no way in this study to ascertain the economic or occupational interests of any candidate's base of individual contributors.



## CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR, 1988

In the 1988 elections, Gov. Booth Gardner had no serious opposition in the Democratic party when he ran for re-election to a second term. In the Republican primary there was a contest between Robert Williams and Norm Maleng, with Williams winning the nomination and going on to lose to Gardner in the general. Contributions of \$500 or more to these three candidates amounted to \$738,211, and it is these major contributions that are analyzed in this section.

Contributions from individuals provided 53% of the major contributions reported by these three candidates, topped by contributions of \$57,250 to Gardner from one person and \$44,295 from another. Republican party organizations gave a total of \$37,648 to the Republican candidates, and that was larger than the amount they received from any of the interest categories.

The largest of the interest groups and the amounts given by them to candidates of both parties are listed in Table 1. With \$69,325 to Gardner and \$2,250 to the Republican candidates, banks and other financial enterprises made the largest interest group in this election. Trade unions, which also heavily favored the Democratic candidate, were the second largest group. For the Republican candidates, the largest interest groups were those of law and justice, land transportation, insurance, and real estate/development.

TABLE 1. Total contributions by interest categories to candidates for governor by party, Washington state, 1988

Interest Categories	Dollars received			Percentages		
	D	R	TOTAL	D%	R%	total%
Finance	69,325	2,250	71,575	15.6%	2.0%	12.9%
Unions: trade	47,400	1,080	48,480	10.7%	1.0%	8.7%
Transportation: land	23,897	13,746	37,643	5.4%	12.3%	6.8%
Manufacturing	34,000	3,500	37,500	7.7%	3.1%	6.8%
Utilities: telephone	31,650	2,000	33,650	7.1%	1.8%	6.1%
Real estate/development	20,883	12,305	33,188	4.9%	11.6%	6.2%
Food/beverage/lodging	30,033	2,250	32,283	6.8%	2.0%	5.8%
Law/justice	12,100	14,380	26,480	2.7%	12.9%	4.8%
Agriculture	20,650	3,260	23,910	4.7%	2.9%	4.3%
Construction	20,904	2,508	23,412	4.9%	2.4%	4.4%
Insurance	10,250	12,850	23,100	2.3%	11.5%	4.2%
Commercial services	12,425	7,720	20,145	2.8%	6.9%	3.6%
Health care: practitioners	19,337	0	19,337	4.4%	0.0%	3.5%
All other categories	13,279	5,460	18,739	3.0%	4.9%	3.4%
Business, unclassified	5,850	7,450	13,300	1.3%	6.7%	2.4%
Energy: petroleum	10,750	1,000	11,750	2.4%	0.9%	2.1%
Forest/wood products	2,500	9,125	11,625	0.6%	8.2%	2.1%
Retailing	10,183	1,387	11,570	2.3%	1.2%	2.1%
Transportation: marine	10,100	0	10,100	2.3%	0.0%	1.8%
Fisheries	6,000	3,110	9,110	1.4%	2.8%	1.6%
Utilities: electric	7,000	500	7,500	1.6%	0.4%	1.4%
Advertising/Print media	6,000	0	6,000	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Amusements	5,500	0	5,500	1.2%	0.0%	1.0%
All other categories	13,279	5,460	18,739	6.0%	9.8%	6.8%



## OTHER EXECUTIVE OFFICES

Besides the governor, Washington voters elect seven other executive officers in partisan elections every four years and a non-partisan superintendent of public instruction. In 1988, three of the incumbents were not seeking reelection--the lieutenant governor, state treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction--and there were contests in both the primary and general elections for these open positions. Incumbents in the offices of state auditor, commissioner of public lands, and insurance commissioner faced strong challenges in the general election, but all three were reelected. Competition was less intense for the attorney general and secretary of state, both of whom far surpassed their Democratic general election opponents in votes received as well as in campaign dollars received and spent.

Candidates for these executive positions raised \$2.9 million in contributions of \$150 or more. Slightly more than \$1 million of that amount was reported as coming from individuals instead of from committees, corporations, associations, or other organizations. The largest interest categories contributing to these candidates for executive office included financial institutions, trade unions, teacher unions, and forest/wood products. Table 2 shows the total amounts coming into the campaigns for all of these executive offices from each of the major interest categories.

TABLE 2. Total contributions by interest categories to non-gubernatorial executive candidates, 1988

Category	Amount	Pct
=====	=====	=====
Finance	194,206	15.2%
Unions: teacher	124,161	9.7%
Unions: trade	124,006	9.7%
Forest/wood products	117,532	9.2%
Real estate/development	105,615	8.3%
Unions: public employee	89,688	7.0%
Law/justice	67,212	5.3%
Transportation: land	54,238	4.3%
Construction	48,228	3.8%
Manufacturing	44,424	3.5%
Insurance	43,581	3.4%
Commercial services	39,388	3.1%
Retailing	25,558	2.0%
Food/beverage/lodging	24,858	2.0%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	21,800	1.7%
Utilities: telephone	21,586	1.7%
Health care: practitioners	20,328	1.6%

TABLE 2. Continued

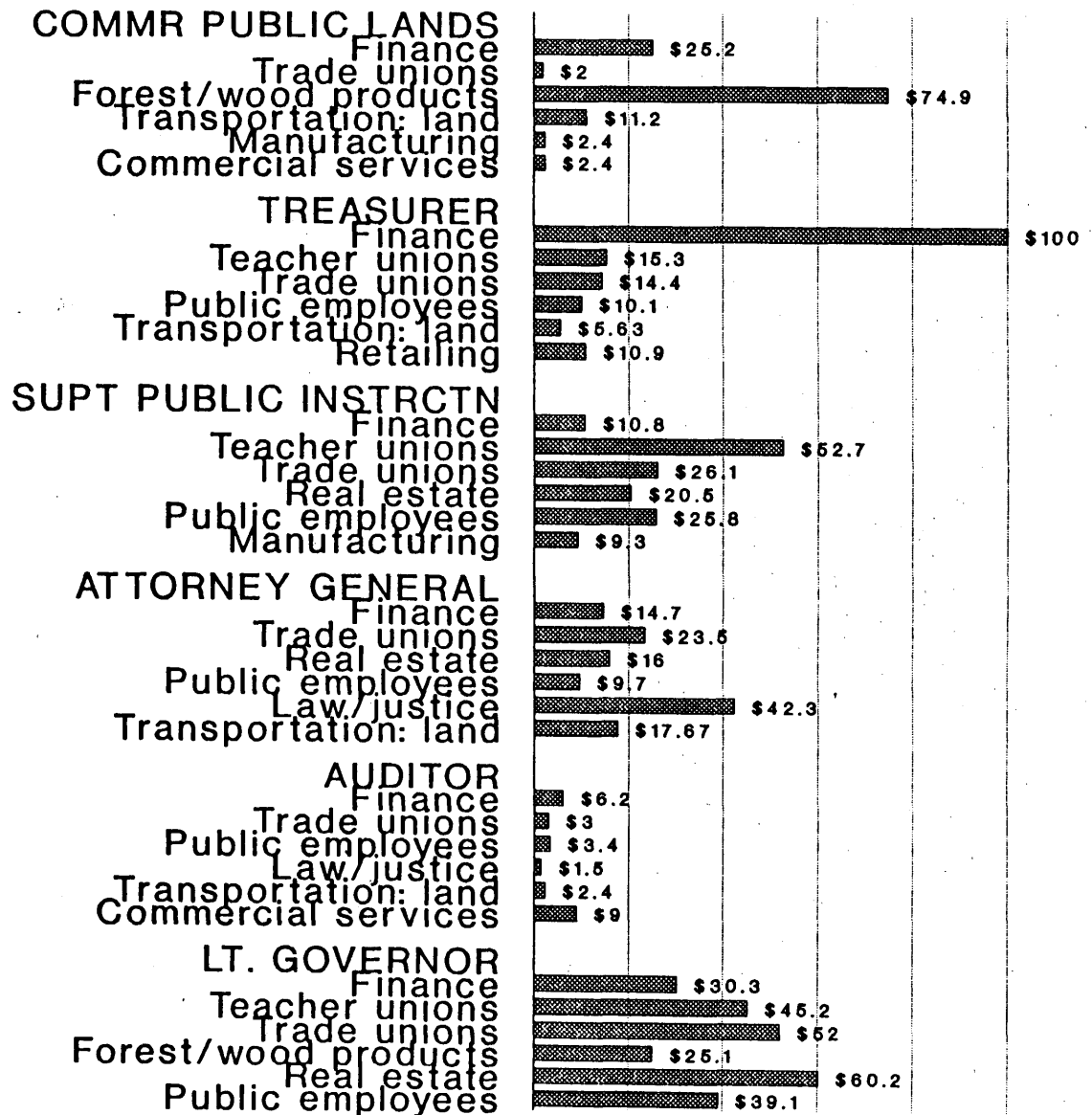
Category	Amount	Pct
Utilities: electric	17,087	1.3%
Energy: petroleum	13,431	1.1%
Business, unclassified	11,142	0.9%
Fisheries	10,629	0.8%
Transportation: marine	8,575	0.7%
Health care: facilities	8,175	0.6%
Amusements	7,530	0.6%
Health care: products	5,938	0.5%
Recreation/leisure: outdoor	5,924	0.5%
Education	5,311	0.4%
Health care: insurance	3,800	0.3%
Agriculture	3,153	0.2%
Advertising/Print media	2,100	0.2%
Utilities: water&waste	1,950	0.2%
Business, general	1,588	0.1%
Transportation: air	1,000	0.1%
Utilities: broadcast	750	0.1%

Only a few categories spread their contributions among candidates for a variety of offices without concentrating on any single office. Making some major contributions to candidates for all executive offices were contributors in the real estate and development group and the electric utilities group. Other categories spread their contributions less evenly, usually concentrating on an office whose functions are related to the activities of the interest group. Figure 1 illustrates this concentration by showing the five leading contributor categories for six of the statewide offices.

For example, the forest/wood products category supplied 54% of the identified interest money reported by candidates for commissioner of public lands, nearly three times as much as any other interest category gave in this particular position. Table 3, showing interest category contributions by office, shows that banks and other financial businesses gave nearly \$100,000 to state treasurer candidates, just over half of these candidates' total of all interest group contributions.

Teacher unions provided nearly one fourth of the major contributions reported by candidates for superintendent of public instruction. The law and justice category, which includes the trial lawyers' state association as well as many law firms, was the largest single contributing group in the attorney general campaigns. The commercial services category, which includes accountants and their PAC, was the largest contributor to state auditor candidates, followed by financial institutions.

Major Contributing Groups  
To Candidates for 6 Executive Offices  
Dollars in thousands



It thus appears that certain offices, at least, have an interested natural constituency of contributors, whether they are solicited by the candidates or whether they seek candidates to support.

TABLE 3. Amounts contributed by interest categories to candidates for state executive offices, 1988

Category	Lt. Governor	Supt Publ Instrctn	State Treasurer	Attorney General	Commr Pub Lands	Insurance Commr	State Auditor	Secty of State
Finance	30,375	10,825	99,998	14,710	25,150	4,870	6,228	2,050
Unions: teacher	45,178	52,733	15,250	8,000	0	1,000	1,000	1,000
Unions: trade	51,988	26,050	14,369	23,479	2,000	2,420	2,950	750
Forest/wood products	25,097	6,225	1,725	6,491	74,924	1,320	1,250	500
Real estate/development	60,183	20,487	5,575	15,950	1,850	170	1,200	200
Unions: public employee	39,090	25,793	10,050	9,725	150	1,230	3,350	300
Law/justice	14,500	1,650	3,875	42,272	325	3,140	1,450	0
Transportation: land	8,978	6,350	5,635	17,650	11,200	2,100	2,365	0
Construction	12,441	3,911	2,600	7,291	825	20,660	500	0
Manufacturing	19,224	9,250	2,750	7,600	2,400	2,050	950	200
Insurance	7,261	9,250	6,200	15,050	875	4,945	0	0
Commercial services	13,153	2,600	4,950	6,900	2,375	300	8,960	150
Retailing	7,907	6,351	10,900	400	0	0	0	0
Food/beverage/lodging	18,625	1,350	985	470	500	0	2,928	0
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	8,825	8,150	450	2,475	700	200	0	1,000
Utilities: telephone	9,425	3,091	5,500	1,470	1,350	0	450	300
Health care: practitioners	12,988	4,000	200	1,050	0	2,090	0	0
Utilities: electric	9,832	1,250	1,800	900	675	580	1,250	800
Energy: petroleum	6,581	1,400	1,200	2,950	900	150	0	250
Business, unclassified	1,650	4,575	650	642	2,600	1,025	0	0
Fisheries	8,104	0	0	150	2,225	0	150	0
Transportation: marine	1,800	400	0	800	5,375	0	0	200
Health care: facilities	4,175	200	200	200	700	2,500	0	200
Amusements	5,230	1,000	150	950	0	0	200	0
Health care: products	200	0	0	5,738	0	0	0	0
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	774	0	1,000	750	0	3,400	0	0
Education	0	4,261	800	0	250	0	0	0
Health care: insurance	2,200	0	0	1,250	0	200	0	150
Agriculture	2,528	0	625	0	0	0	0	0
Advertising/Print media	550	450	500	0	600	0	0	0
Utilities: water&waste	1,650	300	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business, general	1,238	0	0	0	0	0	350	0
Transportation: air	750	0	0	250	0	0	0	0
Utilities: broadcast	500	0	250	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4 offers greater detail by showing the partisan distribution of contributions in these executive campaigns.

Unions were the largest group showing a clear party preference in their executive contributions. Unions gave \$227,974 to Democratic candidates for executive office other than governor, and \$5,305 to Republican candidates for the same positions. With heavy contributions to losing Democratic candidates for lieutenant governor and insurance commissioner (largely, donated office space), the construction industry and real estate categories gave more to Democrats than to Republicans.

TABLE 4. Amounts contributed by interest categories to Democratic and Republican candidates for state executive offices, 1988

	Lt. Governor		State Treasurer		Atty General		Commr Pub Lands		Insurance Commr		State Auditor		Secty of State	
	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)	(D)	(R)
Finance	15145	15230	85883	14115	250	14460	0	25150	0	4870	6078	150	0	2050
Forest/wood products	21147	3950	0	1725	0	6491	11350	63574	0	1320	0	1250	0	500
Unions: trade	51988	0	14369	0	23479	0	2000	0	2420	0	2950	0	0	750
Real estate/development	53933	6250	1500	4075	500	15450	0	1850	0	170	0	1200	0	200
Unions: teacher	45178	0	15250	0	8000	0	0	0	0	1000	1000	0	0	1000
Law/justice	13150	1350	3650	225	19572	22700	0	325	0	3140	250	1200	0	0
Unions: public employee	38590	500	10050	0	8350	1375	0	150	1000	230	3350	0	0	300
Transportation: land	4988	3990	350	5285	325	17325	1500	9700	200	1900	0	2365	0	0
Construction	9441	3000	2200	400	0	7291	600	225	19430	1230	0	500	0	0
Commercial services	9853	3300	4600	350	500	6400	1500	875	0	300	2200	6760	0	150
Manufacturing	9400	9824	1000	1750	500	7100	1000	1400	0	2050	0	950	0	200
Insurance	3311	3950	3700	2500	0	15050	375	500	0	4945	0	0	0	0
Food/beverage/lodging	14225	4400	735	250	220	250	500	0	0	0	2928	0	0	0
Retailing	4507	3400	8900	2000	0	400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utilities: telephone	6475	2950	650	4850	1320	150	0	1350	0	0	450	0	0	300
Health care: practitioners	8988	4000	200	0	250	800	0	0	200	1890	0	0	0	0
Utilities: electric	5082	4750	1000	800	0	900	0	675	0	580	450	800	0	800
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	8625	200	450	0	1150	1325	0	700	0	200	0	0	1000	0
Energy: petroleum	3831	2750	1200	0	0	2950	0	900	0	150	0	0	0	250
Fisheries	1404	6700	0	0	0	150	800	1425	0	0	0	150	0	0
Transportation: marine	900	900	0	0	0	800	0	5375	0	0	0	0	0	200
Health care: facilities	3575	600	200	0	200	0	700	0	0	2500	0	0	0	200
Business, unclassified	550	1100	250	400	342	300	0	2600	0	1025	0	0	0	0
Amusements	4650	580	150	0	0	950	0	0	0	0	200	0	0	0
Health care: products	200	0	0	0	5738	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	774	0	0	1000	0	750	0	0	3400	0	0	0	0	0
Health care: insurance	950	1250	0	0	0	1250	0	0	0	200	0	0	0	150
Agriculture	2528	0	0	625	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Advertising/Print media	250	300	0	500	0	0	0	600	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utilities: water&waste	1400	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business, general	888	350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	350	0	0
Education	0	0	800	0	0	0	0	250	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transportation: air	250	500	0	0	0	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utilities: broadcast	500	0	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	346676	86324	157337	40850	70696	124867	20325	117624	26650	27700	19856	15675	1000	7050

Source groups that strongly favored Republicans included marine transportation, land transportation, insurance, forest/wood products, and manufacturing.

Contributions from commercial services and telephone utilities were divided almost evenly between the two parties.

Lieutenant Governor. With the incumbent retiring after many years of service, eight candidates, three of whom were Democratic state senators, sought the lieutenant governor nomination. Two of the three Republican candidates did very little campaigning, Joel Pritchard, a former legislator and former member of congress, became the Republican nominee and went on to win the general election with 53% of the vote. This office attracted the widest selection of interest group contributors of any of the non-gubernatorial executive offices with contributions from 32 of the 38 interest categories included in this study. Some PACs which give almost exclusively to state legislative candidates contributed to lieutenant governor candidates. The lieutenant governor presides over the state senate and plays a more direct role in the legislative process than any of the other statewide elected officials besides the governor. Also, it was clear that at least two of the three Democratic candidates would continue to serve in the senate through 1990, no matter what the outcome of this election.

The real estate category was the group with the largest total contributions in this campaign with a total reaching \$60,183, but this sum included a donation of office space to one candidate which was reported as having a value of \$40,000. Otherwise, trade unions with \$51,988 to the Democratic candidates and teacher unions with \$45,178 to Democrats were the heaviest givers in this race, followed by public employee unions which gave \$38,590 to the Democrats and \$500 to the Republican. Highest ranking category on the Republican side was that of finance. The \$15,230 given to the Republican by banks and securities firms was matched by \$15,145 spread among the Democrats.

State Treasurer. This office was another one where a long-time incumbent retired, creating an open position. Involved in the primary were two active Democratic candidates and two active Republican candidates. Dan Grimm, the Democrat who was elected, had been a leader in the state house of representatives, and he attracted contributions from a wide variety of sources. Banks, investment firms, and others in the finance category gave \$100,000 to the candidates for this position, far more than any other interest group. The combined amount given by trade unions, teacher unions, and public employee unions to the Democratic candidates was about \$40,000. Republican party organizations matched the union dollars by putting more money into this campaign than they did in any of the other executive offices, giving a total of \$46,716.



This far exceeded the \$14,115 from the finance category, which was the largest interest category amount for the Republican candidates.

Attorney General. Republican incumbent Kenneth Eikenberry won re-election to a third term, defeating his only challenger, Democrat William Erxleben. In this two-candidate race, the law and justice category gave almost equal amounts to the Democratic and Republican candidates. But other categories expressed a clear preference for one candidate over the other. Trade unions and teacher unions gave large amounts to the Democrat, nothing to the Republican. The real estate and insurance industries gave large amounts to the Republican, \$500 to the Democrat. The health care products business gave to the Democrat, and the forest products industry gave to the Republican. The Democrat received only \$250 from the finance category; the Republican received \$14,460. Public employee unions gave the Republican only \$1,375 and gave \$8,350 to the Democrat. The Democrat reported \$325 from land transportation sources, while the Republican reported \$17,325, most of which came from over 30 automobile dealers in the state.

Democratic party organizations ranked this race high on their list of priorities, giving more to their candidate for attorney general than they gave to any other state candidate. The Democratic organizations contributed \$21,096 and the Republican incumbent received \$10,021 from his party.

Commissioner of Public Lands. For candidates of both parties, the forest/wood products category dominated the financing of this campaign, giving \$63,574 to the Republican incumbent, and \$11,350 to the Democratic challengers. The Republican, Brian Boyle, was also heavily favored by the categories of finance, land transportation, and marine transportation. Trade unions made up the only group giving a significantly larger amount to the Democrats than to the Republican.

Insurance Commissioner. Republican incumbent Richard Marquardt defeated a challenger in the primary and the Democratic candidate in the general election. The Democrat reported \$19,430 in in-kind contributions of office space and postage from a construction company that appears to be owned by the candidate or members of the candidate's family, and that amount was attributed in this study to the construction category. The Democrat also reported more than \$46,000 as personal contributions to his own campaign. Aside from that, the largest cash contribution was \$3,400 from a sports firm. The Republican's contributions were from a variety of interest categories, the largest of which were: insurance, \$4,945; finance, \$4,870; law/justice, \$3,140; and health facilities, \$2,500.

State Auditor. Robert Graham, the longtime Democratic incumbent won reelection to this position. The largest amounts of interest money in the campaign were \$6,760 to the Republican candidate from the commercial services category and \$6,078 to the Democrat from the finance category. The Democrat's largest additional contributions came from public employee unions, trade unions, a catering business, and teacher unions. Giving only to the Republican were contributors in the categories of land transportation, forest/wood products, real estate/development, and manufacturing. The Republican received \$21,153 from party sources and the Democrat received \$9,350 from his party.

Secretary of State. This office received almost no attention from the biggest interest categories. The Democratic nominee reported spending only \$502 and received only 37% of the votes. The loser of the Democratic primary reported one group contribution of \$1,000 from one tribe of native Americans. The largest amounts to the Republican incumbent, Ralph Munro, were from these categories: finance, \$2,050; teacher unions, \$1,000; electric utilities, \$800; and trade unions, \$750. Even the political parties paid little financial attention to this position, \$200 from a local party women's club to the Republican incumbent being the only party contribution reported.

Superintendent of Public Instruction. As another position where a longtime incumbent chose to retire, this office had seven candidates in the primary election. They came from a variety of backgrounds in government and in education. They had many separate individual contributors whose contributions of \$217,000 were about equal to the total contributions received from the interest categories.

Since this is a non-partisan office, the analysis of contributions has no party breakdown, but it includes all seven candidates, primary losers as well as the two who remained for the general election. Of the interest contributions received, almost half came from unions: \$52,733 from teacher unions, \$25,793 from public employee unions, and \$26,050 from other unions. Real estate industry contributions were next with \$20,487, followed by three other categories that usually favored Republicans in partisan executive races: finance, insurance, and manufacturing. One of the two candidates in the general election was Denny Heck, formerly a leader of the Democratic party in the state house of representatives, and he received approximately \$11,000 in contributions from state and local party organizations for this nonpartisan position. The same candidate put approximately \$25,000 of his own funds into the campaign, and the winning candidate, Judith Billings, contributed over \$43,000 to her own campaign.

## THE STATE LEGISLATURE

Of all the interest group major contributions collected by legislative candidates in 1988, the four biggest categories provided 40% of the total. These included trade unions, public employee unions, health care practitioners, and general business. (The general business category of contributions came almost entirely from a single PAC, United for Washington.) Another 24% of the total came from five groups: law/justice, teacher unions, manufacturing, finance, and construction. The contributor categories and amounts given to all legislative candidates are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Major contributions to 1988  
legislative campaigns by interest categories

=====		
Unions: trade	449,973	11.0%
Health care: practitioners	406,596	10.0%
Unions: public employee	405,370	9.9%
Business, general	384,226	9.4%
Law/justice	224,976	5.5%
Unions: teacher	198,292	4.9%
Manufacturing	195,286	4.8%
Finance	193,897	4.8%
Construction	168,049	4.1%
Energy: petroleum	149,164	3.7%
Real estate/development	133,110	3.3%
Transportation: land	124,561	3.1%
Utilities: telephone	106,419	2.6%
Food/beverage/lodging	103,986	2.5%
Forest/wood products	103,352	2.5%
Utilities: electric	99,844	2.4%
Insurance	91,266	2.2%
Commercial services	67,753	1.7%
Retailing	66,206	1.6%
Health care: facilities	62,575	1.5%
Amusements	61,520	1.5%
Agriculture	42,453	1.0%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	41,072	1.0%
Health care: insurance	40,350	1.0%
Fisheries	34,044	0.8%
Utilities: broadcast	31,863	0.8%
Utilities: water&waste	22,000	0.5%
Business, unclassified	19,604	0.5%
Education	13,364	0.3%
Advertising/Print media	12,770	0.3%
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	10,645	0.3%
Health care: products	6,400	0.2%
Transportation: marine	3,150	0.1%
Transportation: air	2,550	0.1%
Mining	800	0.0%
Recreation/leisure:arts	600	0.0%
Government	200	0.0%

With party control of the state senate at stake, spending in senate campaigns reached a total of \$3.08 million, more than half of which was spent in five districts where both the Democratic and

the Republican candidate spent over \$100,000. Republicans won 12 of the 22 contested races and retained control of the senate. In the house, Democrats retained their majority, winning 63 seats to 36 for the Republicans.

Although the 9 biggest interest groups were the same in both houses, as shown in Tables 6 and 7, there were some differences in the ways they lined up. The general business category ranked as the biggest single group in the senate campaigns, outspending trade unions by \$8,000, but the business category was fourth highest in the house, spending about \$74,000 less than either trade unions or health practitioners. Health practitioners were first among house contributors, but fourth in the senate.

TABLE 6. Major contributions to 1988 house candidates by interest categories

CATEGORY	\$	%
Health care: practitioners	275,548	11.1%
Unions: trade	275,146	11.1%
Unions: public employee	253,125	10.2%
Business, general	201,326	8.1%
Law/justice	149,635	6.0%
Finance	118,525	4.8%
Manufacturing	109,991	4.4%
Unions: teacher	104,683	4.2%
Construction	99,724	4.0%
Energy: petroleum	89,976	3.6%
Transportation: land	88,601	3.6%
Real estate/development	77,680	3.1%
Food/beverage/lodging	73,429	3.0%
Utilities: electric	62,092	2.5%
Utilities: telephone	61,869	2.5%
Insurance	57,468	2.3%
Forest/wood products	50,524	2.0%
Amusements	43,525	1.8%
Retailing	43,077	1.7%
Health care: facilities	42,677	1.7%
Commercial services	37,072	1.5%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	29,659	1.2%
Health care: insurance	29,250	1.2%
Fisheries	19,244	0.8%
Utilities: broadcast	16,288	0.7%
Utilities: water&waste	14,825	0.6%
Agriculture	13,323	0.5%
Business, unclassified	11,371	0.5%
Education	10,285	0.4%
Advertising/Print media	6,801	0.3%
Health care: products	4,350	0.2%
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	4,255	0.2%
Transportation: marine	2,100	0.1%
Transportation: air	700	0.0%
Recreation/leisure:arts	600	0.0%
Religious organizations	248	0.0%
Government	200	0.0%
Mining	150	0.0%

TABLE 7. Major contributions to 1988 senate candidates by interest categories

CATEGORY	\$	%
Business, general	182,900	11.4%
Unions: trade	174,827	10.9%
Unions: public employee	152,245	9.5%
Health care: practitioners	131,048	8.2%
Unions: teacher	93,609	5.9%
Manufacturing	85,295	5.3%
Finance	75,372	4.7%
Law/justice	75,341	4.7%
Construction	71,025	4.4%
Energy: petroleum	59,188	3.7%
Forest/wood products	52,828	3.3%
Real estate/development	52,730	3.3%
Utilities: telephone	44,550	2.8%
Utilities: electric	37,752	2.4%
Transportation: land	35,960	2.2%
Insurance	33,798	2.1%
Commercial services	30,681	1.9%
Food/beverage/lodging	30,557	1.9%
Agriculture	29,130	1.8%
Retailing	23,129	1.4%
Health care: facilities	19,898	1.2%
Amusements	17,995	1.1%
Utilities: broadcast	15,575	1.0%
Fisheries	14,800	0.9%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	11,413	0.7%
Health care: insurance	11,100	0.7%
Business, unclassified	8,233	0.5%
Utilities: water&waste	7,175	0.4%
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	6,390	0.4%
Advertising/Print media	5,969	0.4%
Education	3,079	0.2%
Health care: products	2,050	0.1%
Transportation: air	1,850	0.1%
Transportation: marine	1,050	0.1%
Mining	650	0.0%

Differences and similarities between candidates of the two major parties as to the sources of their contributions can be noted by comparing Tables 8 and 9. Table 8 lists the amounts reported by Democratic candidates from the interest groups, listing them in order of total amounts. Table 9 does the same thing with Republican candidates.

TABLE 8. Major contributions to 1988 Democratic legislative candidates by interest categories

CATEGORY	\$	%
Unions: trade	443,248	19.9%
Unions: public employee	365,579	16.4%
Health care: practitioners	196,453	8.8%
Unions: teacher	192,494	8.6%
Law/justice	190,576	8.5%
Finance	84,765	3.8%
Manufacturing	73,271	3.3%
Transportation: land	72,632	3.3%
Energy: petroleum	64,425	2.9%
Food/beverage/lodging	57,301	2.6%
Construction	55,291	2.5%
Utilities: telephone	52,616	2.4%
Real estate/development	44,886	2.0%
Amusements	38,325	1.7%
Retailing	33,562	1.5%
Insurance	30,393	1.4%
Health care: facilities	29,143	1.3%
Commercial services	27,175	1.2%
Forest/wood products	26,580	1.2%
Utilities: electric	24,621	1.1%
Health care: insurance	20,775	0.9%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	19,897	0.9%
Business, general	16,026	0.7%
Fisheries	14,219	0.6%
Utilities: water&waste	13,050	0.6%
Agriculture	10,751	0.5%
Education	8,964	0.4%
Utilities: broadcast	6,213	0.3%
Advertising/Print media	4,532	0.2%
Business, unclassified	4,371	0.2%
Health care: products	3,300	0.1%
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	3,015	0.1%
Transportation: marine	1,900	0.1%
Transportation: air	1,200	0.1%
Recreation/leisure:arts	600	0.0%
Government	200	0.0%

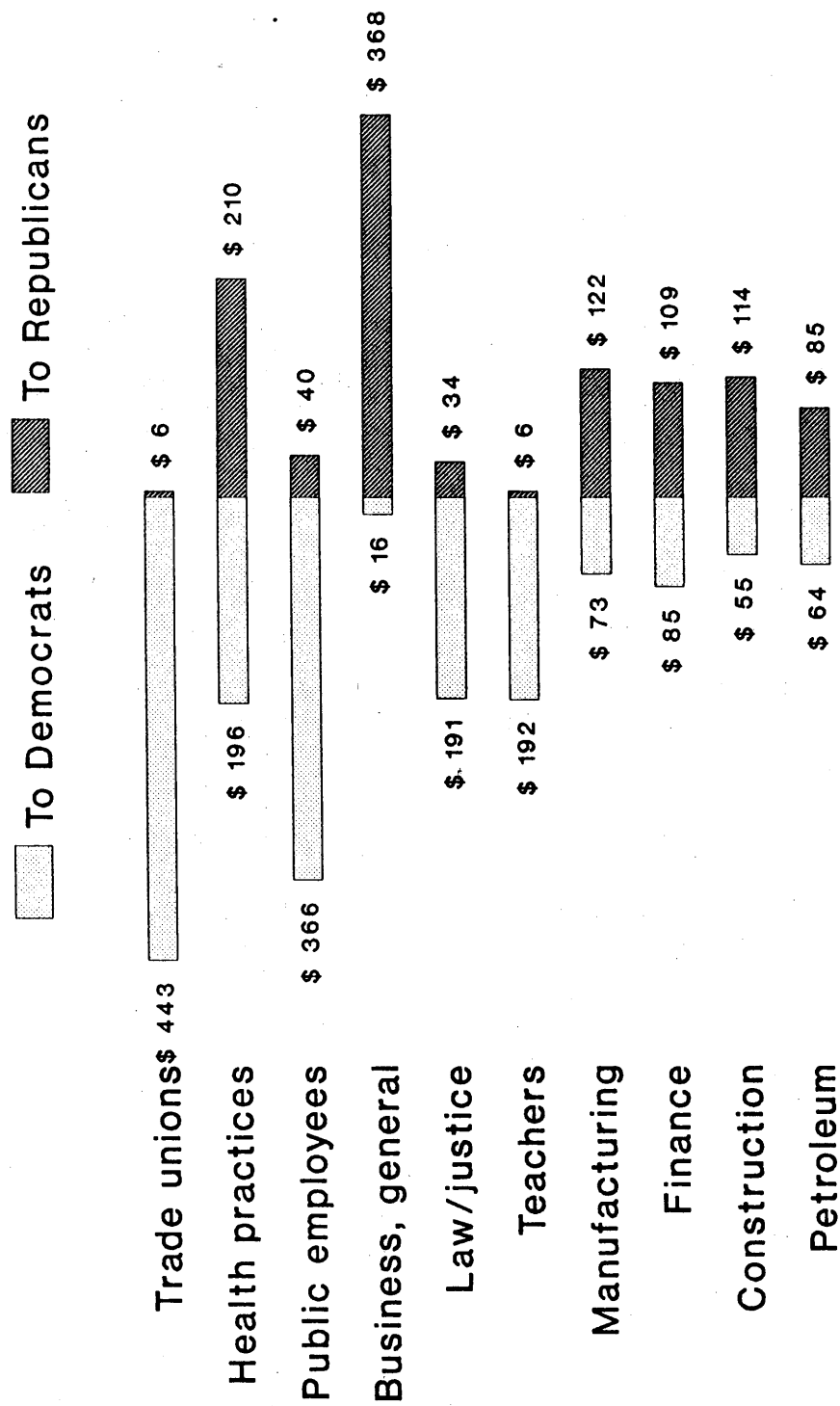
TABLE 9. Major contributions to 1988 Republican legislative candidates by interest categories

CATEGORY	\$	%
Business, general	368,200	19.9%
Health care: practitioners	210,143	11.4%
Manufacturing	122,015	6.6%
Construction	113,758	6.2%
Finance	109,132	5.9%
Real estate/development	87,224	4.7%
Energy: petroleum	84,739	4.6%
Forest/wood products	76,772	4.2%
Utilities: electric	75,223	4.1%
Insurance	60,873	3.3%
Utilities: telephone	53,803	2.9%
Transportation: land	51,929	2.8%
Food/beverage/lodging	46,685	2.5%
Commercial services	40,578	2.2%
Unions: public employee	39,791	2.2%
Law/justice	34,400	1.9%
Health care: facilities	33,432	1.8%
Retailing	32,644	1.8%
Agriculture	31,702	1.7%
Utilities: broadcast	25,650	1.4%
Amusements	23,195	1.3%
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	21,175	1.1%
Fisheries	19,825	1.1%
Health care: insurance	19,575	1.1%
Business, unclassified	15,233	0.8%
Utilities: water&waste	8,950	0.5%
Advertising/Print media	8,238	0.4%
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	7,630	0.4%
Unions: trade	6,725	0.4%
Unions: teacher	5,798	0.3%
Education	4,400	0.2%
Health care: products	3,100	0.2%
Transportation: air	1,350	0.1%
Transportation: marine	1,250	0.1%
Mining	800	0.0%
Religious organizations	248	0.0%

Figure 2 on the following page pictures the party distribution of funds contributed to legislative candidates by the largest of the interest categories.

Trade unions and public employee unions were the largest contributors to Democrats; the general business category was the largest category for Republicans. If those strongly partisan groups were removed, health care practitioners would head the list for both Democrats and Republicans.

# Biggest Interest Categories 1988 Legislative Contributions Dollars in thousands



The health care practitioner group divided approximately \$400,000 almost evenly between the candidates of the two parties. The categories of finance and manufacturing, although giving more actual dollars to Republicans than to Democrats, would rank among the five highest on both the Democratic and Republican lists.

Groups that gave nearly equal dollar amounts to candidates of the two parties included telephone utilities (\$52,616 to Democrats; \$53,803 to Republicans), retailing (\$33,562 and \$32,644), health insurance (\$20,775 and \$19,575). and social/civic/fraternal (\$19,897 and \$21,423).

Besides the unions, the largest group favoring Democratic candidates was the category of law/justice (\$190,576 to Democrats; \$34,400 to Republicans). Others favoring Democrats were land transportation (\$72,632 to \$51,929) and amusements (\$38,325 to \$23,195).

The construction category was one that gave much more to Republicans than to Democrats, \$113,758 to \$55,291. Other groups contributing more to Republicans than to Democrats were petroleum (\$84,739 to \$64,425), real estate/development (\$87,224 to \$44,886), forest/wood products (\$76,772 to \$26,580), and electric utilities (\$75,223 to \$24,621).

## The Caucuses

In both houses of the legislature, both parties operate caucus campaign committees. These committees receive contributions from such sources as PACS, lobbyists and their employers, unions, trade associations, businesses, members of the legislature, and other individual persons. The caucus committees contribute this money to specific candidates or use it in other ways to support their candidates. During the 1988 campaign, \$302,343 was given by the caucus campaign committees to candidates. This represented 4.7% of the total amount of major contributions reported by the candidates.

This section of the study takes a look at the sources of the caucus committees' contributions, comparing the different caucuses with one another and with the contributions given directly to candidates by the interest categories. Table 10 lists the categories and the amounts of their caucus contributions.

Campaign contributions to legislative candidates were dominated by nine interest categories which provided nearly two thirds of all the interest group money received by the candidates. Five of those groups remain in the top group of contributors to the caucus funds and the others have been replaced by other groups. With United for Washington contributing to candidates only, the general business category gave \$384,226 to candidates, but only \$5,140 to the caucuses. Teacher unions were another category that put more emphasis on assisting candidates than on the caucuses. Candidates reported \$198,292 from teacher unions, while caucuses got only \$9,630.

TABLE 10. Contributions to legislative caucus committees, 1987-88, by interest categories

CATEGORIES	(D)	(R)	Total
Finance	19,925	29,550	49,475
Unions: trade	37,485	1,775	39,260
Health care: practitioners	13,523	25,710	39,233
Insurance	11,655	25,938	37,593
Utilities: telephone	13,365	18,220	31,585
Health care: facilities	14,545	15,675	30,220
Manufacturing	11,286	16,444	27,730
Unions: public employee	18,405	8,150	26,555
Energy: petroleum	9,051	16,025	25,076
Food/beverage/lodging	10,675	10,600	21,275
Law/justice	7,440	12,300	19,740
Forest/wood products	7,395	12,329	19,724
Construction	4,575	12,606	17,181
Utilities: electric	6,717	10,462	17,179
Health care: insurance	8,660	7,900	16,560
Transportation: land	8,130	7,250	15,380
Commercial services	10,746	4,205	14,951
Real estate/development	3,210	10,125	13,335
Unions: teacher	7,205	2,425	9,630



Amusements	3,900	5,005	8,905
Government	3,915	2,300	6,215
Utilities: water&waste	2,010	3,325	5,335
Agriculture	1,455	3,878	5,333
Business, general	2,505	2,635	5,140
Education	3,010	1,655	4,665
Retailing	1,825	2,450	4,275
Transportation: marine	1,705	2,325	4,030
Business, unclassified	1,675	1,550	3,225
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	1,550	800	2,350
Utilities: broadcast	1,260	625	1,885
Advertising/Print media	500	925	1,425
Transportation: air	0	1,000	1,000
Fisheries	575	400	975
Health care: products	750	0	750
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	0	175	175

The biggest category of givers to the caucuses was the finance category, which ranked eighth highest among the groups in candidate contributions. This category provided 4.8% of the interest group money reported by candidates, but was responsible for 9.4% of the caucuses' totals. Other groups which ranked higher in giving to caucuses than they did in giving to candidates included insurance, telephone utilities, and health care facilities, which ranked fourth, fifth, and sixth among the caucus contributors, but were 17th, 13th, and 21st, respectively in legislative candidate contributions. Trade unions and health care practitioners, both of which gave about \$39,000 each to the caucuses, were near the top in caucus contributions as they were in candidate contributions.

In the partisan lineup of caucus contributors, trade unions were the biggest contributors to Democratic caucuses as well as to Democratic candidates. The finance group, which had been sixth highest with 3.8% of the interest funds reported by Democratic candidates, rose to second place among Democratic caucus contributors with an 8.0% share of their total. Finance, insurance, and health practitioners were the three highest groups in Republican caucus contributions.

In finding funds to wage its share of the battle for control of the senate, the Senate Republican caucus went to individual contributors. The caucus reported more than \$80,000 from individuals, compared with \$16,745 that the Senate Democratic caucus reported. The Republican caucus was also heavily supported by transfers from legislative candidates--\$22,250 compared to \$11,445 for the Democratic caucus.

Comparison of the partisan distribution of contributions by interest groups to the senate caucuses shows a few groups firmly favoring one party or the other while a number of groups gave almost identical amounts to both parties. Unions of all kinds--trade, public employee, and teacher--combined to give \$50,225 to the Democratic caucus and \$5,425 to the Republican caucus. The insurance category favored the Republican caucus with \$17,513, more than twice the \$7,580 to the Democratic caucus. Also giving more than twice as much to the Republican caucus was the construction

category, \$7,800 to \$2,700. Others giving more to the Republican caucus included manufacturing (\$9,700 to \$7,066) and petroleum (\$8,325 to \$5,441). The law/justice category gave more to the Democratic caucus than to the Republican caucus (\$5,845 to \$2,025).

As a group of contributors, professional lobbyists and lobbying firms gave almost equal dollar amounts to both caucuses, \$14,361 to the Democrats, and \$12,326 to the Republicans. The finance category was the largest of the interest groups dividing their contributions almost evenly. They and others are listed below:

<u>Category</u>	<u>To Democratic Caucus</u>	<u>To Republican Caucus</u>
Finance	\$13,525	\$15,150
Health care: insurance	\$ 4,375	\$ 4,975
Health care: practitioners	\$ 8,978	\$ 8,700
Health care: facilities	\$ 9,370	\$ 9,725
Utilities: electric	\$ 5,222	\$ 5,045
Utilities: water&waste	\$ 1,810	\$ 1,700

## Candidate Transfers

Operating somewhat like the caucus committees on a smaller scale are the campaign committees of certain members of the legislature. These committees receive funds far in excess of what they need for their own campaigns and distribute some of the money to other candidates. Candidates for the legislature in 1988 reported a sizable amount, \$563,861, in contributions from other legislators as well as \$19,981 from the campaign committees of non-legislative candidates.

To illustrate this flow of campaign money, this study takes a look at the activities of four legislators, a Democrat and a Republican from each house. They are the leaders of their parties: the speaker of the house, the house minority leader, and the majority and minority leaders in the senate.

Joe King, the Democratic speaker of the house, raised \$122,969 for the 1988 campaign while his only opponent on the ballot in his district raised and spent \$6,750. King easily won reelection with more than 60% of the vote. A total of \$25,000 passed through King's campaign committee in 1988 to the Democratic State Committee, where it was used to provide in-kind campaign assistance to 18 house candidates. The speaker's campaign committee also contributed \$11,050 directly to legislative candidates, \$3,750 to state candidates, and \$2,175 to federal candidates.

As with the Democratic caucuses and the other Democratic candidates, trade unions made up the largest group of contributors to King's committee. The second largest group with \$7,200 was the one composed of manufacturers, a group that does not usually rank very high on Democratic contributor lists. Health care practitioners were third highest with \$6,246. Next were telephone utilities, finance, retailing, and electric utilities. Public employee and teacher unions were not among the biggest contributors to King's committee.

The House Republican minority leader, Clyde Ballard, raised \$76,022 and easily defeated an opponent who avoided campaign disclosure requirements by agreeing to spend no more than \$500 on his campaign. Ballard got 69% of the votes cast. During the campaign period, Ballard passed \$22,725 on to other candidates.

Ballard's biggest group of interest contributors were the health care practitioners with a total of \$9,755. They were followed by manufacturing, \$5,572; petroleum, \$4,700; finance, \$3,725; health care facilities, \$2,950; public employee unions, \$2,575; and law/justice, \$2,450.

Republican majority leader Jeannette Hayner was unopposed for reelection to her seat in the state senate, yet her campaign committee raised \$68,857 and spent \$58,531. Most of that money

went to assist other candidates in 1988: \$30,615 in direct contributions to others and \$18,000 to the Republican State Committee for a mail campaign in behalf of some specific candidates.

Four of Hayner's five biggest groups of contributors were the same as Ballard's: health care practitioners, \$7,375; manufacturing, \$5,550; petroleum, \$3,550; and finance, \$3,150. Telephone utilities gave her \$4,150, ranking as third largest.

Having been elected to a four-year term in 1986, Sen. Larry Vognild, the Democratic minority chairman, was the only of the four top leaders who was not himself a candidate in 1988. Despite the fact that he was not on the ballot, he received \$26,025 in contributions during October and the first week of November. During that same period, he distributed \$21,075 to other candidates.

Of the total contributions the Vognild committee received during 1987 and 1988, the largest amount, \$6,450, came from the construction category. Next largest were health practitioners, \$6,150; manufacturing, \$4,150; trade unions, \$3,650; and petroleum, \$3,250.

As an illustration of one aspect of campaign finance, there were 16 entities who covered all the bases and made contributions during the 1988 campaign period to all four corners of the legislative leadership and to all four caucus campaign committees. They were:

- AT&T West PAC
- Atlantic Richfield Co.
- Burlington Northern Inc.
- Medical Bureaus Network PAC
- Public Employees Action Committtee
- Rainier Bancorporation
- SAVPAC - WA Savings League
- The Boeing Company
- Trucking Action Committee
- WA Beer & Wine Wholesalers Assn
- WA Health Care Assn PAC
- WA St Dental PAC
- WASH-PIC - Pacific Northwest Bell
- Washington Medical PAC
- Washington Mutual PAC
- Weyerhaeuser Company

In looking at the partisan distribution of contributions both to candidates and to the caucus committees, there are different kinds of records posted by the various interest categories. Some give consistently more to one party than to the other. Some manage to divide all their contributions quite evenly between the two

major parties. There are also those interest groups that appear to favor one party's candidates with their direct contributions, but are less partisan in supporting the caucuses.

The only groups ranking consistently high in supporting the Democratic caucuses and candidates were the trade unions, public employee unions, and teachers' organizations. The law/justice category showed considerable preference for Democratic candidates, giving them \$190,576 while giving \$34,400 to Republicans, but gave more to the Republican caucus committees than to the Democratic caucuses. The two Republican legislative leaders got exactly as much from this category as did the Democratic leaders.

Seven groups that consistently gave more to Republicans, both candidates and caucuses, were real estate/development, electric utilities, forest/wood products, agriculture, insurance, manufacturing, and construction. As noted previously, with no money from United for Washington going to the caucuses, the general business category gave almost equal amounts to both parties in caucus contributions, but candidate contributions were overwhelmingly Republican.

In terms of dollars contributed, there were three groups that ranked high on the list of contributors to Democratic candidates and caucuses: petroleum, finance, and health care practitioners. But they gave even more money to Republican candidates and caucuses. They could be described as categories with a high degree of interest and participation in legislative elections, regardless of party.

The commercial services category had a mixed record, giving \$13,000 more to Republican candidates than to Democratic candidates, but giving \$6,000 more to Democratic caucuses than to Republican caucuses. The amusements category favored Democratic candidates, \$38,325 to \$23,195, but gave more to Republican caucuses than to Democratic. Two categories--food/beverage/lodging and land transportation--showed a preference for Democrats in their candidate contributions, but their caucus contributions were divided evenly between the two parties.

The health insurance and the health care facilities categories supported both parties about evenly, both in candidate and caucus contributions.



## THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Candidates in Washington state do not get substantial sums of money from the political parties, whether Democratic or Republican, state or local. In 1988 all the political party organizations in the state accounted for just 7% of the money that candidates for partisan state executive and legislative offices received in amounts of \$150 and more. In turn, many of the interest groups that are involved in funding candidates do not show as major contributors to the parties.

To take advantage of the state parties' bulk mailing permits and other economies of scale during election periods, many of the major interest groups send money to the state parties that is earmarked for the benefit of specific candidates. In this study, such earmarked contributions were counted as contributions to the candidates, not to the parties, even though the parties reported them on their disclosure reports. Approximately \$575,000 went to Democratic candidates in 1988 in this form and approximately \$225,000 to Republican candidates.

Instead of interest groups, the state party committees in 1988 relied either on individuals or on national party organizations for the bulk of their funds. In the case of the Republican state committee, which received \$1.312 million in major contribution amounts during 1987-88, \$858,931 came from individual contributors. About \$343,000 came from the national Republican party or other party-related committees and caucuses. Only about \$100,000 of the \$1.312 million total came from the interest groups.

The Democratic state committee had \$401,000 in major contributions during 1987-88, and most of that--over \$250,000--came from party sources, chiefly various Democratic committees in Washington, DC. The Democratic committee reported \$14,571 from individuals. In interest group contributions, the Democratic committee had \$105,000--almost exactly the same amount as the Republicans.

The sources of the interest group contributions were different for the two parties. Over \$60,000 came to the Democrats from unions, and the largest of the other groups were finance and land transportation. The Republicans, of course, had no union money, but they had a greater spread of other interest money than the Democrats, led by telephone utilities, forest/wood products, and finance. So again with the parties, as with the candidates and the caucuses, the finance group is among the biggest sources for both parties. Health practitioners, who were among the biggest contributors to legislative candidates and caucuses of both parties, gave a total of only \$1,000 to the two state parties combined.

TABLE 11. Sources of contributions \$150 and more reported  
by state Democratic and Republican committees, 1987-88

	Democratic State Committee	Republican State Committee
National party committees	244,242	282,978
Other party sources	7,147	60,269
Individuals	14,571	858,931
Candidates	29,776	9,056
Lobbyists	0	1,150
Interest groups:	105,315	99,748
Unions: trade	35,015	0
Finance	12,950	15,850
Utilities: telephone	0	21,106
Forest/wood products	0	17,770
Unions: teacher	16,500	0
Transportation: land	8,000	5,200
Manufacturing	3,500	8,250
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	10,575	0
Unions: public employee	10,225	0
Business, unclassified	0	7,800
Energy: petroleum	3,500	4,250
Utilities: electric	500	6,312
Insurance	0	4,610
Construction	0	3,900
Law/justice	3,000	0
Real estate/development	500	1,600
Health care: practitioners	550	450
Retailing	0	750
Business, general	0	750
Commercial services	0	650
Transportation: marine	0	500
Food/beverage/lodging	500	0
TOTALS ALL SOURCES:	401,051	1,312,132



## INITIATIVES

There were three initiatives on the ballot for the general election in 1988. The campaigns in behalf of each initiative were financed by combinations of groups interested in the issues. This section of the study condenses the information about initiative campaign contributors in much the same way that contributions to candidates, caucuses, and state parties were analyzed in previous sections.

Initiative 518. As an initiative to the people, Initiative 518 had received signatures of enough registered voters to qualify to go directly to the ballot. The purpose of the initiative was to raise the state minimum wage from \$2.30 to \$3.85 an hour and to bring some agricultural workers under the jurisdiction of the minimum wage law. The measure passed with 1,354,454 yes votes to 414,926 no votes. The campaign committee for the initiative, The Livable Income Campaign, raised and spent \$178,347. Table 12 shows the totals the committee received in amounts of \$150 and more.

TABLE 12. Contributions by interest categories to Livable Income Committee (Initiative 518), 1988.

Category	Amount
=====	=====
Unions: trade	75,743
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	8,617
Democratic party	7,950
Unions: public employee	7,300
Transfers: legislative	6,893
Transfers: non-legislative	4,000
Individuals	3,997
Utilities: telephone	2,500
Law/justice	1,500
Religious organizations	549
Unions: teacher	500
Retailing	350
Construction	200

Trade unions, including the Washington State Labor Council which contributed over \$40,000, were the biggest contributors to this initiative. There were only a very few business-related contributions. Aside from the unions, financial support came from candidates' campaign funds, Democratic party organizations, and the category called social/civic/fraternal organizations. In this case, that category included NOW (National Organization for Women), some church groups, and other citizens' committees.

An opposition committee called the Coalition to Save Jobs reported spending a total of \$632, of which \$460 came from a single contributor, the Association of Washington Business. A restaurant

industry committee reported spending \$15,800 to oppose the initiative.

Initiative 97. As an initiative to the legislature, this measure took a different route to the November ballot. Sufficient signatures were gathered to present Initiative 97, dealing with the cleaning up of hazardous wastes, to the legislature in 1988. The legislature had three options: (1) enact the measure as submitted, making it unnecessary for the initiative to go to the public for a vote; (2) take no action other than to pass the initiative on to the voters to decide; (3) pass an amended version of the same proposal and submit both versions to public vote. The third is the option chosen by the legislature in dealing with Initiative 97. As a result there were two competing measures on the ballot. The voters had to choose, first, whether or not either version should be enacted, and secondly, which of the two measures they favored.

Two chief differences between the two versions were noted in the official ballot titles. Initiative 97 funded a hazardous waste cleanup program with a tax of 7/10 of 1% on hazardous substances. In the alternative measure, the tax rate was set at 8/10 of 1% and there was less coverage of petroleum products. Committees supporting each version raised campaign funds. Sponsoring the original Initiative 97 was the Citizens' Toxic Clean-up Campaign. Their total receipts amounted to \$321,605. The alternative version passed by the legislature was designated as Initiative 97-B and its campaign committee was called the Yes 97-B Committee. This committee raised and spent \$1,270,780.

In this election, the voters' decision did not go with the side that spent the most money. The original version passed, with 860,535 votes for it and 676,469 for the alternative.

TABLE 13. Contributions by interest categories to  
Citizens' Toxic Cleanup (Initiative 97), 1988.

Category	Amount
=====	=====
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	126,926
Individuals	40,842
Law/justice	23,970
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	15,282
Unions: trade	9,750
Commercial services	2,408
Democratic party	2,300
Transfers: non-legislative	1,254
Real estate/development	881
Unions: public employee	700
Lobbyists	650
Manufacturing	250
Fisheries	150

The largest amount of support for Initiative 97 came from an organization called WashPIRG, a student group for consumer and environmental advocacy. Their final total of cash and in-kind expenditures for the initiative came to \$75,739. The Washington Environmental Council, also classified in the category of social/civic/fraternal organizations, was the second largest contributor to the campaign with a total close to \$25,000. In-kind contributions from attorneys helped make the law/justice category the second highest group. Individual contributors of amounts ranging from \$150 to \$10,000 provided \$40,842. (In addition to the major contributions included in Table 13, the committee reported receipts of \$96,074 from 3,276 contributors in amounts less than \$150.) The committee received some funds from unions, but very little from any businesses.

The financing of the competing measure was dominated by three business categories: petroleum, manufacturing, and forest/wood products. These three categories spent \$945,388 on the campaign, either as contributions to the Yes 97-B Committee or as independent campaign expenditures. Contributions from categories, including independent expenditures of \$38,750, are summarized in Table 14.

TABLE 14. Contributions by interest categories to Yes 97-B Committee (Initiative 97-B), 1988, including independent expenditures.

Category	Amount
Energy: petroleum	502,053
Manufacturing	297,950
Forest/wood products	145,385
Transportation: land	64,600
Finance	58,500
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	27,879
Utilities: electric	25,000
Construction	18,200
Transportation: marine	16,000
Utilities: telephone	14,000
Transportation: air	13,000
Business, general	10,500
Insurance	10,500
Agriculture	8,500
Business, unclassified	4,400
Individuals	4,250
Commercial services	4,000
Utilities: water&waste	4,000
Retailing	3,750
Food/beverage/lodging	3,000
Law/justice	3,000
Real estate/development	2,449
Lobbyists	400
Mining	250

Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) was the largest contributor, with a total of \$120,000. Others in the petroleum category that gave \$50,000 or more included Texaco, Mobil Oil, Shell Oil, and Chevron. The manufacturing category was led by The Boeing Company, with \$104,000. Weyerhaeuser Company led the forest/wood products category with a total of \$58,100. Although it has a variety of other interests, Burlington Northern is classified only in the land transportation category, and its \$58,100 accounted for nearly all of that category's contributions. Contributions of \$20,000 from Seafirst Bank and \$15,000 from Rainier Bancorporation were the largest from the finance category.

Summary. From these few examples, it might be said that initiative campaigns, pro and con, receive contributions from a more limited range of interest groups than do candidates or parties. Each initiative campaign was dominated by only one or a few interest categories to an extent that was not found in the legislative campaigns. Labor provided the largest amounts for Initiative 518, while nearly all the reported opposition to the minimum wage increase was from the restaurant industry. A single organization, however large its base of supporters may be, provided most of the support for Initiative 97, while the principal support for the competing alternative Initiative 97-B came from the petroleum industry. Some interest groups that were among the most active in financing candidates and caucuses--most notably, health care practitioners and teacher unions--were not to be found on the lists of major contributors in the initiative campaigns in 1988. In another year with altogether different issues on the ballot, there would likely be a different set of major contributors.

## INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS AND OTHER SOURCES

The group interest categories included in this study accounted for 63% of the contributions of \$150 or more received by legislative candidates in 1988, for 44% of executive candidates' totals (not including office of governor), 68% of the caucus committees' receipts, and 50% of the money for the three initiatives on the ballot. For the office of governor, 43% of the contributions of \$500 or more came from the interest categories. The rest of the contributions were from the political parties and caucuses, other candidates, lobbyists, individuals, and the candidates' own funds.

Parties and caucuses accounted for 12% of the major contributions to legislative candidates, and for 6.5% of the executive candidates' contributions. Transfers from other candidates made up 9% of legislative candidates' major contributions and 4% for executive candidates. About 8% of the money in the initiative campaigns came from candidate transfers.

Of the money received by the legislative caucus campaign committees, 6% was given by lobbyists in their own names. These were lobbyists with multiple employers covering more than one of the interest categories. If all of the lobbyists' employers were in the same interest category the contribution was credited to the category of the lobbyist's employer. Such lobbyist contributions made up less than 1% of the money received by legislative and executive candidates.

In general, the candidates who spent their own money on their campaigns were non-incumbents and losers. There were 5 legislative candidates who put more than \$10,000 each of their own money into their campaigns challenging incumbents in 1988, and none of them were elected. Four of them, in fact, were defeated in the primary. Altogether, 77 challengers spent \$159,589 of their own money, and the 23 incumbents who contributed some of their own money contributed about one-tenth as much, \$16,091. Of the total \$241,149 in candidates' own funds in the 1988 legislative elections, \$99,891 was that of candidates who were eliminated in the primary and another \$98,631 was that of candidates who were defeated in the general election. Winners spent about \$43,000 of their own funds.

The situation was similar in the state executive races. Primary losers spent \$76,223 of their own money and general election losers spent \$78,213 from their own pockets while winners were spending \$50,956 of their own money. Judith Billings, the winning candidate for superintendent of public instruction, accounted for most of the winners' share with \$43,239 of her own money. Incumbents put only \$7,474 of their own money into the

elections, challengers \$69,989. The open positions of superintendent of public instruction and lieutenant governor drew a total of \$127,938 in candidates' own funds.

Individual persons were the sources of more than half the contributions of \$500 and more reported by gubernatorial candidates. They were the source of 36% of other executive candidates' \$150-and-over contributions and 34% of the major contributions to initiative committees. Legislative candidates, caucuses, and state party committees also reported individuals as major contributors.

Many of the individuals who contributed \$150 or more gave to only a single candidate, party committee, or initiative campaign. But there is also a community of repeat major contributors in this state who collectively constitute an important element in political campaign funding. In this comprehensive look at the contributors to campaigns, there were 136 individuals who showed up on the lists of at least three different candidates or committees as contributors of \$150 or more and whose total contributions on these reports exceeded \$1,000. A total of \$808,870 went from these repeat individual contributors to the committees and candidates included in this study.

As a whole, this group of contributors favored the Republican side. To Republican candidates, caucuses, and the state committee they gave \$547,852, compared to \$251,109 to Democrats. Slightly less than \$10,000 went to non-partisan candidates and issues.

At the very top of the list of major donors there are nine persons whose total contributions ranged from \$20,000 to \$76,100. Eight of these nine gave to both Democrats and Republicans and the dollars were more evenly divided, with \$163,000 to Republicans and \$127,000 to Democrats. Norton Clapp leads the list with his \$57,250 to Governor Booth Gardner and \$17,850 to Republican candidates. While none of the other major contributors came close to matching Clapp's amounts, the pattern was a common one for those giving in both parties: several contributions by one person on the Republican side and a single contribution to a Democrat, usually the governor or some other executive candidate.

George Weyerhaeuser, with \$25,800, was the largest contributor to give exclusively to Republicans. David Cohn's total of \$13,900 made him the biggest individual contributor to Democratic candidates and committees. Those individuals whose contributions to the campaigns of 1988 exceeded \$10,000 are listed in Table 15.

TABLE 15. LARGEST REPEAT INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS OF 1988

Contributor	\$ to Democrats	\$ to Republicans	\$ to other	Total
Norton Clapp	57,250	17,850	1,000	76,100
W. H./Elizabeth Meadowcroft	15,850	29,659	1,250	46,759
Herman Sarkowsky	1,850	31,450		33,300
George Weyerhaeuser	0	25,800		25,800
Richard Bressler	750	23,550		24,300
James Summers	150	23,900		24,050
W. Hunter & Dorothy Simpson	19,504	1,250	1,300	22,054
William Clapp	15,700	5,225		20,925
Edward Carlson	16,200	4,650		20,850
Stanley McNaughton	0	18,370	500	18,870
Charles Pigott	0	18,640		18,640
Norman Kates	0	18,100		18,100
William Boeing, Jr.	0	16,960		16,960
John & Mary Mangels	3,200	11,650		14,850
Samuel Stroum	13,600	900		14,500
David Cohn	13,900	0	300	14,200
Mr. & Mrs. Herb Hill	0	12,710		12,710
Dr. & Mrs. John Vasko, Jr.	0	11,250		11,250
William G. Reed, Jr.	750	9,650		10,400
Jon/Judith Runstad	7,302	2,650	200	10,152
Mr. & Mrs. Langdon Simons, Jr.	0	10,150		10,150





## REVIEW OF TEN INTEREST CATEGORIES

Trade unions were the most active of Washington's interest group categories participating in the campaigns of 1988, making a combined total of \$782,227 in contributions to candidates, initiative committees, caucus committees, and the state central committees of the two major parties. Petroleum was the second highest interest category with \$710,724, followed by manufacturing, finance, public employee unions, health practitioners, forest/wood products, general business, law/justice, and teacher unions.

The total contributions reported as coming from each of these top ten categories are shown in Table 16 below, with a breakdown by type of campaign. The table shows that the different categories followed different patterns in their giving, that, for example, some directed the bulk of their contributions to initiative committees, while others concentrated their giving on legislative candidates. Some descriptions of the top ten categories and their records follow.

TABLE 16. TEN HIGHEST INTEREST GROUPS IN TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO CANDIDATES AND COMMITTEES, 1987-88

	To state executive candidates	To state legislative candidates	To initiative committees	To caucuses and state parties	TOTALS
Trade Unions	172,486	449,973	85,493	74,275	782,227
Petroleum	25,181	149,164	503,553	32,826	710,724
Manufacturing	81,924	195,286	298,200	39,480	614,890
Finance	265,781	193,897	59,000	78,275	596,953
Public employee unions	94,198	405,370	8,000	36,780	544,348
Health practitioners	39,665	406,596	0	40,233	486,494
Forest/wood products	129,157	103,352	145,385	37,494	415,388
Business, general	3,088	384,226	10,960	5,890	404,164
Law/justice	93,692	224,976	28,470	22,740	369,878
Teacher Unions	124,661	198,292	500	26,130	349,583

Trade unions. This interest group led all others in contributions to legislative candidates, especially Democrats. Democratic legislative candidates received 20% of their major contributions from trade unions. These unions were also the biggest single source of contributions to the Democratic caucuses and the second highest group in executive candidate contributions. The initiative 518 campaign got its greatest financial support from trade unions. The Washington State Labor Council is the biggest organization in this group, accounting for \$235,000 of the group's \$782,227. The largest of the other union organizations are the Washington Teamsters, \$111,000, and the United Food and Commercial Workers, \$41,000.

Petroleum. This category's emphasis in 1988 was on Initiative 97-B, where the oil companies spent half a million dollars. Aside

from Atlantic Richfield's \$9,750 to Gov. Gardner, they paid little attention to the executive contests, but they gave enough to legislative candidates and to party organizations to rank as the tenth highest contributing group in both cases. They tend to favor Republicans, as their legislative contributions were split 57% Republican and 43% Democratic, while contributions to parties and caucuses were 38% Republican and 62% Democratic. Besides Atlantic Richfield with its total of \$219,000 in contributions, the largest members in the group include Shell Oil, \$119,000; Texaco, \$92,000; Mobil Oil, \$80,000; and Chevron, \$71,000.

Manufacturing. Almost half the contributions attributed to this category were from The Boeing Company, \$289,000 out of a total of \$615,000. The next largest amount, \$65,000, was from PACCAR, Inc. The other members are a diverse group, including a number of aluminum companies, cigarette manufacturers, electronic, chemical, and clothing manufacturers, among others. As a group they ranked second to the petroleum category in contributions to Initiative 97-B, and they provided about 5% of the money raised by the candidates and party committees in this study, so they were involved in a variety of elections.

Finance. To an extent unmatched by any other interest category, the finance group concentrated its effort on the executive elections. This was the largest of Gov. Gardner's categories of major contributors and it supplied about half the interest group money that state treasurer candidates received, outranking all other categories in giving to both Democratic and Republican candidates for treasurer. It was also the largest contributor group to the legislative caucus committees. A total of 118 banks, securities firms, and their PACs are included in this category. The largest are Rainier Bancorporation, U. S. Bancorp PAC, First Associates (Seafirst Bank), and Washington Savings League.

Public employee unions. The organizations that make up this category concentrated on the state legislature, and their \$405,000 provided 10% of the total of major contributions reported by legislative candidates. They were overwhelmingly Democratic in their contributions. The leading member of this group, the Washington Federation of State Employees, was 95% Democratic in the partisan distribution of its funds to candidates, parties, and caucuses. Some of the smaller police guilds and associations of deputy sheriffs were more supportive of Republican candidates. None of these organizations contributed \$150 or more to Initiative 97 or Initiative 97-B committees. Contributions from all of these public employee organizations to Initiative 518, heavily supported by trade unions, amounted only to \$8,000.

Health practitioners. Representing a variety of medical professionals, this group played an important role in the financing of legislative campaigns, and managed to appear almost bipartisan in doing so. Health practitioners ranked number 1 of the interest

groups in contributions to house candidates, number 4 in the senate, number 2 for Republican legislative candidates, and number 3 for Democratic legislative candidates. Although their candidate contributions were divided almost evenly between the two parties, their caucus contributions were two-to-one Republican. The bipartisan appearance of their total contributions as a group is a result of the differing patterns among the organizations in this category. The largest group, the Washington Medical Association, was 61% Republican in its partisan contributions. The second largest group, the Washington State Dental PAC, was practically bipartisan with 52% Democratic and 48% Republican. The third largest group, the Washington Optometric PAC, was 60% Democratic in its contributions. Among the others, ophthalmologists favored Republicans, while chiropractors and physical therapists favored Democrats. This category is the only one of the top ten to make no contributions to any of the three initiative campaigns. It is also the largest category to show no major contributions to either of the Republican gubernatorial candidates.

Forest/wood products. Most of the members of this group are lumber or logging companies or paper manufacturers. The combined contributions of three firms--Weyerhaeuser, Boise Cascade, and Longview Fibre--accounted for about half the total spent by this interest category on campaigns. Like the petroleum and manufacturing categories, they spent more on Initiative 97-B than they gave to the whole list of legislative candidates. Like the finance category, they were more involved in the executive campaigns than the legislative races. This was particularly noted in the election for Commissioner of Public Lands, where 54% of the interest group money came from this one group. Overall, they were consistently Republican in their candidate and party preferences.

General business. This category is almost entirely United for Washington, a PAC that was reported as making contributions of \$380,576 to legislative candidates. It also includes the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, which contributed \$10,500 to the Initiative 97-B committee. The rest of the group consists of eight other organizations and their lobbyists whose various contributions added up to \$13,088. This group was first among interest categories in contributions to Republican legislative candidates, giving those candidates 20% of the total they received as major contributions and it was the highest contributing group to state senate candidates. It was hardly involved at all in executive campaigns.

Law/justice. Of the \$370,000 total that made the law/justice group the ninth largest interest category in the state, half (\$185,000) came from the Washington State Trial Lawyers Association and its PAC (LAWPAC). Another \$47,000 came from the Washington State Bar Association and its PAC. The rest came from one other PAC, the Privacy Fund, and about 75 law firms. This was the

largest interest category in the attorney general campaign, and the amounts given were evenly divided between the Democratic and the Republican candidates. Contributions to legislative candidates from this group were 85% Democratic, 15% Republican.

Teacher Unions. This category consists mostly of the Washington Education Association, its PAC (PULSE), and its local affiliates and regional Uniserv councils. They were especially active in contributing to legislative candidates with a strong preference for Democrats. With less than \$6,000 to Republicans and nearly \$200,000 to Democrats, this group ranked as fourth highest interest source for Democratic legislative candidates and sixth highest in total legislative contributions. Teacher unions were the biggest source for Superintendent of Public Instruction candidates and the second biggest source for Democratic lieutenant governor candidates. In other executive races their contributions were relatively modest. Only one contribution of \$500 or more from a teacher union was reported by a candidate for governor.

## LOBBYING EXPENDITURES

The same interest categories used in this study to compile contributions to the campaigns of 1988 were used to tabulate the expenditures for lobbying purposes that were reported by lobbyists under the provisions of RCW 42.17.170 during the first three quarters of 1989. The statute requires registered lobbyists to file monthly reports showing the compensation for lobbying they received from each employing entity and other amounts spent in behalf of their employers--food and refreshments, living accommodations (for other than self), advertising, travel, contributions, and any other lobbying expenditures.

The reports included in this study are those filed by lobbyists for the first nine months of 1989. The amounts reported generally decrease when the legislature is not in session. The regular session of the legislature in 1989 began on January 9 and ended on April 23. The total amount spent for lobbying reached a peak of \$1,766,140 in the month of March and dropped to a low of \$824,791 in July. In the first four months of 1989, total expenditures reported by lobbyists amounted to \$6.6 million. In the four months following the legislative session, active lobbyists reported expenditures of \$3.6 million, bringing the total spent for lobbying in the first eight months of the year to \$10.2 million. Expenditures reported for the month of September brought the total to \$11.1 million.

Although the L-2 reports (forms for reporting lobbyists' monthly expenditures) show contributions to candidates and elected officials, in this study there is very little duplication of the contributions reported on the C series of reports by candidates and committees. The previous section of this study, dealing with campaign contributions, covered the campaigns of 1988 through their final reports, most of which were filed in December of 1988 or in January 1989 encompassing activity through December 31. The lobbyists' reports begin with the month of January 1989.

The lobbying expenditures included in this section of the study then can be added to the contributions in the previous section, linking the two kinds of reports to show the total amounts spent by the various interest categories to influence the elections of 1988 and the legislative decisions that followed those elections.

The interest category that spent the most for lobbying during this period was manufacturing, with a total of \$765,752. This category was third highest in overall campaign contributions, seventh highest in contributions to legislative candidates, and is one of only four of the ten highest campaign contributor categories

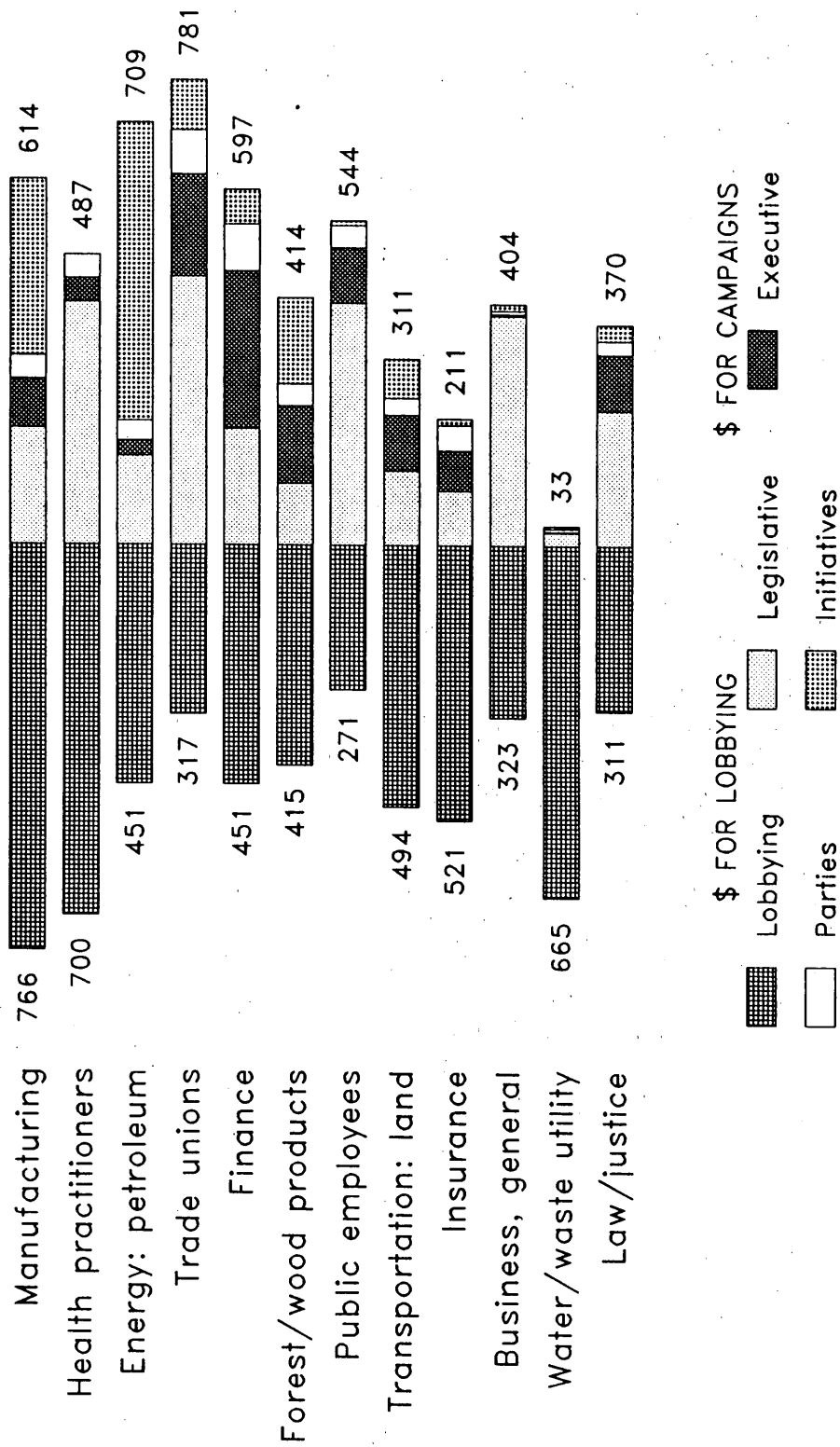
to be among the ten highest lobbying expenditure categories.

For each of the interest categories, Table 17 gives the number of lobbyists registered to represent an employer in that category, the dollars reported spent for lobbying by lobbyists in that category, and the category's total campaign expenditures from 1988. The number of registrations is simply the number of lobbyist registration forms (L-1) filed within that category. If an individual lobbyist registers for more than one employer in a category, each is counted as a separate registration. Likewise, if an employing organization has more than one registered lobbyist, each one counts in the number of registrations.

TABLE 17. INTEREST CATEGORIES, BY AMOUNTS SPENT FOR LOBBYING,  
JANUARY-SEPTEMBER, 1989.

CATEGORIES	LOBBYING 1989		CAMPAIGNS 1988
	Number of registrations	\$ Expended	Total Contributed
Manufacturing	55	765,752	614,890
Health care: practitioners	64	700,119	486,494
Utilities: water&waste	43	664,536	33,285
Insurance	43	521,203	210,650
Transportation: land	50	494,403	309,662
Government	30	467,071	6,415
Energy:petroleum	22	450,706	710,724
Finance	44	450,644	596,953
Food/Beverage/Lodging	41	435,761	185,902
Forest/Wood products	30	415,329	415,388
Utilities: telephone	38	414,238	230,846
Utilities: electric	18	414,209	178,422
Health care: facilities	37	400,126	101,470
Amusements	35	383,582	83,455
Business, general	31	322,587	404,164
Unions: trade	41	316,572	782,227
Law/Justice	33	311,440	369,878
Health care: insurance	19	298,880	63,335
Commercial services	46	295,424	149,295
Construction	24	286,161	279,130
Unions: public employee	23	270,740	544,348
Education	43	253,914	23,340
Transportation: marine	22	241,251	42,355
Social Services	36	187,473	0
Real Estate/Development	26	176,958	291,868
Agriculture	32	153,097	83,349
Social/Civic/Fraternal Orgns	61	144,013	241,573
Unions: teacher	18	121,083	349,583
Recreation/Leisure: outdoor	20	107,701	33,026
Health care: products	14	95,195	13,088
Retailing	10	87,983	111,884
Religious organizations	8	84,077	797
Advertising/Print Media	8	70,377	22,295
Fisheries	12	69,665	54,908
Recreation/Leisure: arts	4	63,604	600
Utilities: broadcast	2	20,671	37,748
Mining	3	14,161	1,050
Transportation:air	3	10,749	20,050
Energy:nuclear	1	800	0

Political spending by  
major interest groups, 1988-89  
(Dollars in thousands)



Two interest categories that did not appear on the list of major campaign contributors do appear as employers of lobbyists. One of these is the category of social services, which includes a number of non-profit agencies such as the March of Dimes and the American Lung Association. Also included are social agencies concerned with needs such as child abuse, retarded citizens, substance abuse, or developmental disabilities. These kinds of agencies apparently do not make campaign contributions, but they do have concerns about legislation. Another category which did not appear in the contributing groups is that of nuclear energy, but there was one lobbying firm registered to represent one client in that category.

Figure 3 on the following page pictures the amounts spent for lobbying and campaign contributions by the 12 largest interest categories. They are arranged in order, from top to bottom, according to the combined total of lobbying and contributions.

Table 17 and Figure 3 show considerable differences among the categories as to the general nature of their monetary efforts to influence public policy and their spending patterns. Some groups spent far more for lobbying in a few months than they had spent on campaign contributions over a two-year period. Other groups that were quite active as campaign contributors did not make an equivalent effort in spending for lobbying purposes.

Manufacturing. The Boeing Company was the leader in this group in lobbying expenditures as it was with contributions. Boeing lobbyists reported spending \$204,108 through September. Among the other manufacturers and their lobbying expenditures were PACCAR, \$40,441; Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical, \$40,431; and Aluminum Corporation of America, \$37,166. Heavy lobbying by cigarette manufacturers is indicated by the expenditures reported by lobbyists for the Tobacco Institute, \$52,708; Philip Morris USA, \$33,750; R. J. Reynolds Tobacco, \$10,993; and the Smokeless Tobacco Council, \$29,597.

Health care practitioners. This group was second highest in campaign contributions to legislators as well as second highest in lobbying expenditures. The Washington State Medical Association is the leader in this group with a total of \$280,680, the largest amount spent for lobbying by any employer during the first nine months of 1989. Leading the others in the field are Washington State Dental Association, \$80,198; Washington Optometric Association, \$52,922; and Washington State Academy of Ophthalmology, \$42,319. Others in this category employing lobbyists include chiropractors, home health staffs, naturopaths, opticians, pharmacists, physicians' assistants, occupational therapists, osteopaths, dental hygienists, nurses, physical therapists, podiatrists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and veterinarians. The health care practitioner group also had the largest number of registered lobbyists, with a total of 64 distinct registrations.



Utilities: water and waste. This group spent relatively little on campaign contributions, but it was the third highest among the groups in lobbying expenditures. Their campaign contributions were \$33,285. Of that amount, the \$22,000 that was given to legislative candidates put them in 27th place among the groups in contributions. In terms of lobbying expenditures, the biggest members are Burlington Environmental, \$74,158; US Ecology, \$72,663; Wheelabrator Environmental Systems, \$67,312; Waste Management of North America, \$55,000; Washington Waste Management Association, \$49,537; Land Recovery, Inc., \$48,602; and Rabanco, \$38,942.

Insurance. Fourth highest among the groups in spending for lobbying and seventeenth highest in campaign spending, the insurance category is another that appears to emphasize the lobbying aspect of its activities. Safeco Corporation lobbyists spent \$71,016 as the leader in this category. Next was the American Insurance Association, \$51,662, followed by Contractors' Bonding and Insurance, \$31,944, and Farmers Insurance Group, \$30,043. Among the other firms and organizations in this category are American Family Life Assurance, Independent Insurance Agents Association, Insurance Producers PAC, Northwestern National Life, PEMCO Insurance, State Farm, Teachers Insurance and Annuity, Washington Hospital Liability Insurance, and Washington Self-Insurers Association.

Transportation: land. Lobbyists working in this category include some employed by railroads, auto clubs, automobile manufacturers like Ford and General Motors, and car rental firms, but the highest expenditures were those reported by associations and coalitions. The largest of these was called Washington Citizens for Improved Transportation. This organization was started in 1988 with contributions from contractors and construction firms, but the largest portion of its operating funds in 1989 came in amounts of at least \$5,000 each from Boeing, Seafirst Bank, Security Pacific Bank, US West, Sabey Corporation, and Puget Power. Expenditures reported through lobbyists for the organization amounted to \$47,413 for the first nine months of 1989. Additional spending was reported by WCIT as a grass roots lobby concerned with transportation funding measures. Through October 10, grass roots lobbying expenditures amounted to \$123,000, and those expenditures are not included in the total for this interest category.

Trade associations in the transportation lobby making the biggest expenditures were Washington Trucking Association, \$44,593; Washington State Transit Association, \$34,755; and Washington State Auto Dealers Association, \$27,615. Another coalition in this group, called the Alliance of Consumers, Truckers, and Shippers, reported lobbying expenditures of \$35,847 in behalf of trucking deregulation.

Government. Because of prohibitions against using public funds for campaigns, almost no campaign contributions were attributable to this category, but government ranks among the top groups in lobbying expenditures reported under the same conditions as those that apply to private sector lobbyists. Members of the group include cities, counties, municipal corporations, and their state associations. The few campaign contributions, amounting to \$6,415, went almost entirely to legislative caucus committees and were made either by lobbyists or by the Fire Services Fund, a PAC that derives its funds from fire district commissioners and fire chiefs.

In the government category, the largest amounts for lobbying, exceeding those reported by any trade association, were reported by the Association of Washington Cities, \$158,502, and the Washington State Association of Counties, \$105,758. The King County Council and the Snohomish County Council also have paid lobbyists filing regular monthly reports, as do the cities of Tacoma, Bellevue, and Olympia.

State agencies that spend public funds for lobbying are required by the statute to file a different series of reports on a quarterly basis listing their lobbying expenditures. Local governments, municipal corporations, and special purpose districts may choose either to file these quarterly reports or to have their lobbyists register and file monthly reports just as private lobbyists do. When the amounts from the agencies' quarterly reports are added to the amounts reported by governmental lobbyists in their monthly reports, the total lobbying expenditures by government, as a separate interest category, exceed those of any other interest category. The government category, however, gathers under its umbrella a variety of concerns: state universities, school districts, utility districts, cities and counties, offices of state elected officials like the treasurer and insurance commissioner, and the whole range of state departments through agriculture and transportation to wildlife.

The total amount reported in agency quarterly reports was \$948,556 in the first quarter of 1989, \$316,106 in the second quarter, \$86,567 in the third quarter, for a total of \$1,351,229. Leading spenders were the city of Seattle, \$84,809; city of Spokane, \$73,346; Washington State University, \$71,292; Department of Social and Health Services, \$60,112; and the University of Washington, \$56,117. Including these, there were 55 state agencies reporting and 38 other public agencies, governments, and districts.

Energy: petroleum. This category includes two natural gas companies in addition to the oil firms and their trade associations. In political contributions, the category was second highest in 1988, and it ranks as seventh highest in lobbying expenditures in 1989. The biggest amount of lobbying was reported

by those representing the Western States Petroleum Association, \$137,970. Washington Natural Gas was second highest with \$74,685, followed by BP America, \$62,880, and Atlantic Richfield, \$44,153.

Finance. Two banks lead this category in 1989 lobbying expenditures: Seafirst, \$71,625, and Security Pacific, \$62,393. An association of savings banks, the Washington Savings League, is next with \$55,480, and the Washington Bankers Association lobbyists reported expenditures amounting to \$40,244. Several other banks and associations spent smaller amounts, making this eighth highest among the interest categories in lobbying expenditures.

Food/Beverage/Lodging. Within this lobbying group are representatives of distillers, brewers, restaurants, and resorts. The five largest spending employers are Anheuser Busch, \$48,482; Washington Beer & Wine Wholesalers Association, \$35,043; Joseph Seagram & Sons, \$32,630; Restaurant Association of Washington, \$31,610; and Washington Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages, \$31,225.

Forest/wood products. Weyerhaeuser and Boise Cascade lead this group in lobbying expenditures, just as they led in campaign contributions. Weyerhaeuser lobbyists reported spending \$96,333 in the first three quarters and Boise Cascade lobbyists reported \$43,303. They were followed by Georgia-Pacific, \$39,160, James River, \$29,876, and Simpson, \$27,290. A trade group, the Washington Forest Protection Association, spent \$65,006 for lobbying.

Two groups of utilities with nearly identical spending records follow the top ten categories in lobbying expenditures. Telephone lobbyists reported spending \$414,238 and electricity lobbyists reported \$414,209. In the telephone category, lobbyists for US West Communications spent \$151,836, far ahead of the \$52,864 reported for General Telephone of the Northwest. The three biggest spenders in the electric category are private firms: Puget Power, \$80,660; Washington Water Power, \$74,786; and Pacific Power & Light, \$58,562. Washington Public Utility Association lobbyists spent \$58,412.

Only four categories appear among the ten highest in both campaign contributions to legislators and in reported lobbying expenditures, indicating the lack of a direct correlation between the two ways of spending money. Those four include: health care practitioners, second in both contributions and lobbying; manufacturing, first in lobbying and seventh in contributions; finance, eighth in both contributions and lobbying; and petroleum, seventh in lobbying and tenth in contributions. It could be concluded that these four groups are the ones making the biggest comprehensive investment to influence public policy: health professionals, manufacturing firms, financial institutions, and the petroleum industry.

All three kinds of unions--trade, public employees, and

teachers--are among the top ten groups in amounts contributed to legislative candidates, but none of them are in the top ten groups in lobbying expenditures. Trade unions led all other interest groups in campaign contributions, but are 15th in lobbying. Public employee unions, third highest campaign contributors, rank 21st in lobbying expenditures. Teacher unions were sixth highest in campaign spending, but 28th among 39 groups in lobbying.

The general business category, largely United for Washington, was fourth among the groups in its contributions to legislative candidates. It is 15th in lobbying, led by the Association for Washington Business. Legal professionals and their associations made up the fifth largest category of contributors; in lobbying expenditures they rank 17th. The construction category was ninth in contributions, 20th in lobbying. These groups appear to be ones that put more emphasis on electing candidates than on lobbying in spending their money to achieve public policy: unions, general business organizations, the legal profession, and the construction industry.

Besides the category of government, those who spent far more for lobbying than campaigning are these groups: water and waste utilities, health care facilities, amusements, health care insurance, education, marine transportation, outdoor recreation, health care products, and the arts. These groups appear to have chosen to use their resources to influence legislators rather than the voters.

The diverse clamor of voices seeking the attention of legislators can be illustrated by noting that the nine employers who spent the most on lobbying in the first three quarters of 1989 all come from different categories. The list of the ten highest employers follows:

WA St Medical Assn	\$280,680	Health practitioners
Boeing Company	204,108	Manufacturing
Assn of Washington Cities	158,502	Government
US West Communications	151,836	Telephone utilities
Assn of Washington Business	143,042	General business
Western States Petroleum Assn	137,970	Petroleum
WA St Trial Lawyers Assn	121,971	Law/justice
Washington Education Assn	114,936	Teacher unions
WA St Hospital Assn	105,972	Health facilities
WA St Assn of Counties	105,978	Government

## CONCLUSION

One brief way to summarize this study would be to identify the single economic interest category that spent more money than all others when the lobbying expenditures for 1989 are added to the campaign contributions for 1988. That category would be manufacturing, with a combined total of \$1,380,642. Next is the category of health practitioners, followed by petroleum, trade unions, financial institutions, forest/wood products, public employee unions, land transportation, insurance, and general business. The record suggests that these interests are the ones making the greatest effort in Washington state to influence policy decisions.

Because the provisions of the disclosure law are designed to disclose the sources of political money and its uses, this report concentrates its attention on money and often highlights the largest amounts in its various tabulations. If resources other than money are used to influence elections and legislation and if these resources are not measured in terms of dollars, then they do not appear in the documents that furnished the data for this study. For example, the unpaid services of a volunteer campaign worker may have some influence on the outcome of an election. That same worker, or any other citizen, may have some influence on a legislator's vote, may, indeed, lobby most forcefully without crossing the line that requires registration and reporting as a lobbyist.

While the primary purpose of this study is to bring into public view more information about money and politics, the tabulations may also be of use to scholars. The figures and descriptions, for example, may have some application for political scientists examining the theory of the pluralistic state and the competition among interests. Some of these scholars hold the view that competition among interests prevents any single interest or set of interests from prevailing constantly to the detriment of other interests. Others believe that the system favors those interests who have the greatest resources and who use them most effectively. This study deals only with money, not with issues confronting the legislature or with the victories and defeats of lobbyists. When this information compiled from the public records at the public disclosure commission is combined with information from other records and sources, the picture will be more complete.



# EMPLOYERS OF LOBBYISTS, 1989 BY INTEREST CLASSIFICATIONS

## ADVERTISING/PRINT MEDIA

Ackerley Communications Inc  
Allied Daily Newspapers  
Craftsman Press  
R L Polk & Co  
WA Publications Distributors

## AGRICULTURE

Central WA Farm Crops Assn  
Cold Storage Assn  
Columbia Basin Development League  
Iowa Beef Packers Inc  
Kennewick Irrigation District  
NW Turfgrass Assn  
Pacific NW Aerial Applicators Alliance  
Pacific NW Grain & Feed Assn  
Vitamilk Dairy  
WA Agri-Business Coalition  
WA Assn of Conservation Districts  
WA Assn of Wheat Growers  
WA Cattlemens Assn  
WA Potato Growers Assn  
WA St Council of Farmer Coop  
WA St Dairymens Federation  
WA St Farm Bureau  
WA St Grange  
WA St Horticultural Assn

## AMUSEMENTS

Abate of Washington  
Assn of WA Athletic Facilities  
Bike PAC of Washington  
Columbia River Drift Alliance  
Gtech Corp  
Harveys Skindiving Inc  
Hundinger Fireworks Corp  
Interclub Boating Assn of WA  
Jockeys' Guild Inc  
Longacres Race Course Inc  
Motion Picture Assn of America  
Motion Picture Exhibitors of WA  
Pacific NW Amateur Sports Foundation  
Pacific NW Ski Areas Assn  
Private Marina Assn  
Seattle Goodwill Games  
Seattle Mariners  
Seattle Organizing Committee  
Seattle Professional Football  
Ski-Free Marine Corp  
Syntech International Inc  
Titan Sports Inc  
WA Amusement & Music Operators  
WA Bowling Proprietors Assn  
WA Horsemens Pac  
WA Independence Day Assn  
WA Public Gaming Assn  
WA St Charter Assn  
WA St Hound Council

## BUSINESS, GENERAL

Assn of Washington Business  
Economic Development Board for Tacoma  
Export Assistance Center of Washington  
Greater Renton Chamber of Commerce  
Greater Seattle Chamber of Commerce  
Greater Vancouver Chamber of Commerce  
Greater Yakima Chamber of Commerce  
Independent Business Assn  
Int'l Franchise Assn  
Kent Chamber of Commerce  
Momentum 88  
Nat'l Federation of Independent Business  
Redmond Chamber of Commerce  
Spokane Valley Chamber of Commerce  
Tacoma-Pierce County Chamber of Commerce  
Tridec  
WA Friends of Farms & Forests  
WA Jobs Coalition  
WA Roundtable  
WA St Convention & Trade Center

## COMMERCIAL SERVICES

American Building Maintenance  
American Institute of Architects  
Architects & Engineers Leg Council  
Check Mart Inc  
Consulting Engineers Council  
Control Data Corp  
Dehart & Darr  
Economic & Engineering Services Inc  
Enhanced Telemanagement Inc  
Frank Figg & Associates  
James King  
John Gill, Advance Checking  
John & Dottie Blake Assn Inc  
Juan Sparhawk & Associates  
NW Telephone Answering Service Assn  
Polaroid Corp  
Scott Wetzel Services Inc  
Spady Consulting Services  
WA Assn of Route Operators  
WA Assn of Temporary Service  
WA Fire Sprinkler Assn  
WA Interment Assn  
WA Self Service Storage Assn  
WA Service Council  
WA Society Certified Public Accountants  
WA Society Of Assn Executives  
WA Software Assn  
WA St Auctioneers Assn  
WA St Shorthand Reporters Assn  
WA St Warehousemans Assn

#### CONSTRUCTION

Asphalt Paving Assn of Washington  
Associated Builders & Contractors  
Associated General Contractors of WA  
Building Industry Assn of Tacoma  
Building Industry Assn of Washington  
Mechanical Contractors of Washington  
Nat'l Electrical Contractors  
Roofing Contractors Assn  
Sabey Corp  
Seattle Master Builders Assn  
SMACMA-West Wash Inc  
Utility Contractors Assn of WA  
WA Aggregates & Concrete Assn  
WA Irrigation & Development  
Western Building Material Assn

#### EDUCATION

Assn of Librarians of the UW  
Assn of WA School Principals  
Audio Educational Systems Inc  
Behavioral Sciences Institute  
Children's Initiative  
Citizens Education Center NW  
National Faculty  
Pacific Science Center  
Puget Sound Higher Education  
Rigos Professional Education  
WA Alumni Advocates  
WA Assn for the Education of Young Children  
WA Assn of Educational Clinics  
WA Assn of School Administrators  
WA Educational Network  
WA Federation of Independent Schools  
WA Friends of Higher Education  
WA Institute of Applied Technology  
WA Organization of Vocational Educators  
WA St Council of Vocational Tech Institutes  
WA Vocational Assn

#### ENERGY: NUCLEAR

Advanced Nuclear Fuels Corp

#### ENERGY: PETROLEUM

Ashland Oil Inc  
Atlantic Richfield Co  
B P America Inc  
Burlington Resources Inc  
Cascade Natural Gas Corp  
Chevron USA Inc  
NW Pipeline Corp  
Oil Heat Institute of Washington  
Pacific Northern Oil  
Texaco Inc  
Time Oil  
WA Natural Gas  
WA Oil Marketers Assn  
WA Petroleum Marketers Assn  
Western States Petroleum Assn

#### FINANCE

American Express Trs Co  
Beneficial Management Corp of America  
Boeing Employees' Credit Union  
Citicorp Mortgage Inc  
Escrow Assn of Washington  
Federated Investors Inc  
Federated Investors of Pittsburgh  
Household International  
Hoylake Investments Limited  
IDS Financial Services Inc  
Int'l Assn for Financial Planning  
Seafirst Bank  
Seafirst Bank - Public Affairs  
Securities Industry Assn  
Security Pacific Bank of Washington  
Tempest Financial Services Inc  
US Bank of Washington  
WA Bankers Assn  
WA Collateral Loan Assn  
WA Collectors Assn  
WA Credit Union  
WA Mortgage Bankers Assn  
WA Mutual Financial Group  
WA Mutual Savings Bank  
WA Savings League  
WA St Coin & Bullion Dealers  
WA St Financial Services Assn  
WA St Housing Finance Commission

#### FISHERIES

Maritime & Seafood Tax Committee  
Pacific Coast Oyster Growers  
Puget Sound Gillnetters Assn  
Purse Seine Vessel Owners Assn  
Salmon For All  
WA Dungeness Crab Assn  
WA Fish Growers Assn

#### FOOD/BEVERAGES/LODGING

Anheuser Busch Co Inc  
Associated Grocers Inc  
Associated Tavern Owners of Washington  
Coors Brewing Co  
Joseph Seagram & Sons Inc  
Marriott Corp  
McLane NW  
Miller Brewing Co  
Organic Food Program  
Restaurant Assn of Wa  
Stimson Lane Wine & Spirits  
Unique NW Country Inns  
UST Inc  
WA Beer & Wine Wholesalers Assn  
WA Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages  
WA Brewers Institute  
WA Food Processors Council  
WA School Food Service Assn  
WA St Assn of Tobacco & Candy Distributors  
WA St Food Dealers Assn  
WA St Food & Nutrition Council  
WA St Licensed Beverage Assn  
WA St Lodging Assn  
WA St Soft Drink Assn  
WA Wine Institute  
West Coast Grocery



#### FOREST/WOOD PRODUCTS

Boise Cascade Corp  
Fibres International  
Forest Families Action Committee  
Georgia-Pacific Corp  
ITT Rayonier  
James River Corp  
Longview Fibre Co  
Manke Lumber Co Inc  
NW Independent Forest Manufacturers  
NW Pulp & Paper Assn  
Pacific Lumber & Shipping  
Scott Paper Co  
Simpson Investment Co  
WA Christmas Tree Growers  
WA Contract Loggers Assn  
WA Farm Forestry Assn Inc  
WA Forest Protection Assn  
Weyerhaeuser Co

#### GOVERNMENT

Assn of Washington Cities  
City of Bellevue  
City of Olympia  
City of Tacoma  
King County Council  
Municipality of Metro Seattle  
Snohomish County Council  
WA Assn of County Officials  
WA Fire Commissioners Assn  
WA St Assn of Counties  
WA St Assn of Fire Chiefs

#### HEALTH CARE: FACILITIES

Adult Licensed Family Homes  
Assn of Residential Care Hom  
Care Unit Hospital of Kirkland  
Caritas Services Inc  
Cascade Nursing Services, Ltd  
Childrens Orthopedic Hosp & Med Center  
Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center  
Health & Hospital Services  
Lakeside Recovery Centers  
Medical Laboratory Group  
Multicare Medical Center  
Newmedico Associates Inc  
NW Aids Foundation  
NW Hospital Council  
NW Kidney Center  
Seattle Area Hospital Council  
Sound Nursing Facilities  
Southwest WA Hospitals  
WA Ambulance Assn  
WA Assn of Homes for the Aging  
WA Health Care Assn  
WA St Funeral Directors Assn  
WA St Hospice Organization  
WA St Hospital Assn  
WA St Society for Medical Technology

#### HEALTH CARE: INSURANCE

Blue Cross of WA & Alaska  
Cigna Healthplan of Washington  
First Choice Health Plan  
Foundation Health Care  
Foundation Health Plan Inc  
Group Health Coop of Puget Sound  
Health Care Purchasers Assn  
Health Insurance Assn of America  
Kaiser Permanente  
Virginia Mason Health Plan  
WA Dental Service  
WA Health Services  
WA Physicians Service  
WA St Physicians Insurance

#### HEALTH CARE: PRACTITIONERS

BAC Pac  
Behavioral Sciences Institute  
Chiropractors PAC  
Council For Responsible Chiropractic  
Home Care Assn of Washington  
Home Health Staffing Assn  
Naturopathic Legislative Fund  
Nina Conn Nursing Consultant  
Opticians Assn of Washington  
Pharmacists of Washington  
WA Assn of Physicians Assistants  
WA Chiropractors Assn  
WA Congress of Surgical Assistants  
WA Monitored Treatment Programs  
WA Occupational Therapist Assn  
WA Optometric Assn  
WA Osteopathic Medical Assn  
WA Society of Radiologic Technologists  
WA St Academy of Ophthalmology  
WA St Dental Assn  
WA St Dental Hygienists Assn  
WA St Dietetic Assn  
WA St Licensed Practical Nurses  
WA St Medical Assn  
WA St Medical Group Management  
WA St Nurses Assn  
WA St Nursing Home Resident Councils  
WA St Physical Therapy Assn  
WA St Podiatric Medical Assn  
WA St Primary Care Assn  
WA St Psychiatric Assn  
WA St Psychological Assn  
WA St Veterinary Medical Assn

#### HEALTH CARE: PRODUCTS

Ciba-Geigy Pharmaceuticals Co  
Eli Lilly & Co  
Hearing Aid Society  
Medco Containment Services Inc  
Merck Sharp & Dohme  
Pfizer Pharmaceuticals Inc  
Pharmaceutical Manufacturing  
Proprietary Assn  
Upjohn Co  
WA Hearing Aid Society

#### INSURANCE

Aetna Life & Casualty  
Alliance of American Insurers  
American Family Life Assurance  
American Insurance Assn  
American Integrity Insurance  
Contractors Bonding & Insurance  
Farmers Insurance Group  
Independent Ins Agents of Washington  
Insurance Producers PAC  
Nat'l Assn of Independent Insurers  
Northwestern Nat'l Life Insurance Co  
NW Life Insurance  
PEMCO Financial Center  
PEMCO Insurance Co  
R.V. Hamel Corporation  
Safeco Corp  
State Farm Insurance Co  
Sunset Life Insurance Co  
Surplus Lines Assn of Wa  
Teachers Insurance & Annuity  
Unigard Security Insurance Co  
WA Cit Insurance Authority  
WA Hospital Liability Insurance  
WA Insurance Council  
WA Insurers  
WA Land Title Assn  
WA Self-Insurers Assn  
Western Assn of Insurance Brokers  
Western Surety

#### LAW/JUSTICE

American Civil Liberties Union  
Evergreen Legal Services  
King County Prosecutor  
Liability Reform Coalition  
NW Women's Law Center  
Puget Sound Legal Assist Foundation  
Seattle-King County Dispute Resolution Ctr  
Steering Committee of the Non-Indian  
WA Assn of Criminal Defense Lawyers  
WA Assn of Prosecuting Attorneys  
WA Defenders Assn  
WA Poverty Law Advocates  
WA Privacy Lobby  
WA St Bail Agents Assn  
WA St Bar Assn  
WA St Magistrates Assn  
WA St Trial Lawyers Assn  
WA Superior Court Judges Assn

#### MANUFACTURING

Aluminum Co of America  
American Architectural Manufacturing  
American Electronics Assn  
Batus, Inc  
Boeing Co  
Diaper Mfg Group  
Dolco Packaging  
Hewlett-Packard  
Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp  
Manufacturing Managment Inc  
Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co  
Motor Vehicle Manufacturers' Assn  
Nat'l Business Systems Inc  
Nat'l Electrical Mfg

#### MANUFACTURING

Norris Paint Co  
Paccar Inc  
Pacific Nuclear Systems Inc  
Philip Morris USA  
R J Reynolds Tobacco Co  
Reynolds Metals Co  
Rubber Mfg Assn  
Smokeless Tobacco Council  
Society of the Plastics Industry  
Sundstrand Data Control Group  
Tektronix Inc  
Tiz's Door Sales  
Tobacco Institute  
Todd Shipyard Corp  
Trade Products Inc  
Vanalco Co  
Westinghouse

#### MINING

Newmont Services Limited  
NW Mining Assn

#### REAL ESTATE/DEVELOPMENT

Building Owners & Managers Assn  
Ch.8, American Institute of Real Estate  
Commencement Bay Tidelands Assn  
Committee For Equitable Property Mgmt  
Mobile Home Owners of America  
Nat'l Assn of Industrial & Office Parks  
Panorama Corp  
Seattle Housing Authority  
Sunrise Group Homes  
Tacoma-Pierce County Assn of Realtors  
Urban Industries  
WA Apartment Assn  
WA Assn of Building Officials  
WA Assn of Realtors  
WA Land Title Assn  
WA Manufactured Housing Assn  
WA Mobile Park Owners Assn  
Yakima Valley Rental Assn

#### RECREATION/LEISURE: ARTS

Capitol Museum Foundation  
WA Library Assn  
WA St Arts Alliance

#### RECREATION/LEISURE: OUTDOOR

Bicycle Federation of Washington  
Concerned Anglers for Salmon  
Metropolitan Park District  
Nature Conservancy  
Nat'l Audubon Society  
Nat'l Rifle Assn  
NW Steelhead & Salmon Council  
Pacific Salmon Sportfishing  
Salmon For Washington  
Sierra Club/Cascade Chapter  
Stevens Pass Inc  
Trout Lodge Inc  
WA St Sportsmens Council

#### RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Christian Science Comm, Finance Comm  
Evangelical Lutheran Church  
N Pacific Union Conf Seventh Day Adventists  
WA Assn of Churches  
WA St Catholic Conference

#### RETAILING

Amway Corp  
Direct Selling Assn  
Fred Meyer Inc  
NW Automated Vendors Assn  
Pacific NW Hardware & Implement Assn  
Southland Corp  
WA Assn of Route Operators  
WA Retail Assn

#### SOCIAL SERVICES

Adoption Center of Washington  
Alliance for Children, Youth & Families  
American Lung Assn of Washington  
Assn for Retarded Citizens of Washington  
Assn of Alcoholism/Addiction Programs  
Childhaven  
Community Residential Services Coalition  
Developmental Disabilities Residential  
Fremont Public Assn  
March of Dimes  
Metropolitan Development Council  
NW Regional Food Network  
NW Rehabilitation Management  
Rehabilitation Enterprises of Washington  
South King County Multi-Service Center  
Substance Abuse Treatment Assn  
WA Assembly for Citizens with Disabilities  
WA Assn of Child Abuse Councils  
WA Assn of TASC Programs  
WA Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs  
WA Community Mental Health Council  
WA Council on Alcohol Problems  
WA Low Income Housing Congress  
WA St Alliance for Children Youth Families  
WA St Assn of Area Agencies on Aging  
WA St Assn of Community Action Agencies  
Western WA Chapter March of Dimes

#### SOCIAL/CIVIC/FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Assn of Retired Persons  
American Assn of University Women  
American Legion  
Cit Commission on Human Rights  
Common Cause Washington State  
Fair Budget Action Campaign  
Human Life  
Nat Assn Retired & Veteran Railway Workers  
Nat'l Fraternal Congress of America  
People for Fair Taxes  
Planned Parenthood Affiliates  
Planned Parenthood of Seattle  
Puget Sound Comm /Sane Nuclear Policy  
Seafair, Inc  
Seattle-King Co Chptr American Red Cross  
Sixth Sense-The Economic Impact Project  
United Way of King County

#### SOCIAL/CIVIC/FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

United Way of Washington  
WA Environmental Council  
WA Fair Share  
WA Policy Council  
WA Public Interest Research Group  
WA St Federation of Clubs  
WA St National Orgn for Women  
WA St Nat'l Abortion Rights Action League  
WA Women United  
YMCAs of Washington State

#### TRANSPORTATION: AIR

Alaska Airlines  
United Airlines

#### TRANSPORTATION: LAND

Alamo Rent-A-Car, Inc  
Alliance of Consumers, Truckers & Shippers  
Auto Club of Washington(AAA)  
Automotive United Trades Orgn  
Avis, Hertz & Budget Rent-A-Car  
Bellevue Tow Truck Operators  
Burlington Northern Inc  
Car & Truck Rental Leasing Assn  
Community Transit  
Durham Transportation  
Evergreen St Taxi Assn  
Ford Motor Co  
General Motors Corporation  
Inland Automobile Assn  
Laidlaw Transit Inc  
LTI, Inc  
Mayflower Bus  
Motorcycle Industry Council  
Nat'l Vehicle Leasing Assn  
NW Motorcycle Assn Trail Division  
Pierce Transit  
Spokane Area Good Roads Assn  
System TWT Transportation  
Traffic Safety Now  
Union Pacific Railroad Co  
Vehicle Test Technology Inc  
WA Assn of Vehicle Sub-Agents  
WA Auto Dealers Assn  
WA Automotive Wholesalers Assn  
WA Citizens for Improved Transportation  
WA Motorcoach Assn  
WA Movers Conference  
WA St Auto Dealers Assn  
WA St Motorcycle Dealers Assn  
WA St Transit Assn  
WA Tow Truck Assn  
WA Trucking Assn

#### TRANSPORTATION: MARINE

Bainbridge Marine Services Inc  
Jones Washington Stevedoring  
NW Marine Trade Assn  
NW Towboat Assn  
Port Angeles Pilots Assn  
Port of Bremerton  
Port of Grays Harbor  
Port of Seattle  
Port of Tacoma  
Puget Sound Steamship Operators Assn

TRANSPORTATION: MARINE

Sea-Land Service Inc  
Shipyard Environmental Coalition  
WA Pilots Assn  
WA Public Ports Assn

UNIONS: PUBLIC EMPLOYEE

Campeon Enterprises, Inc  
Nat'l Assn of Social Workers  
Public School Employees of Washington  
Retired Fire Fighters of Washington  
Retired Public Employees Council  
Seattle Fire Fighters Union  
WA Federation of State Employees  
WA Public Employees Assn  
WA St Corrections Employees  
WA St Council of County & City Employees  
WA St Council of Fire Fighters  
WA St Council of Police Officers  
WA St Law Enforcement Assn  
WA State Patrol Troopers Assn

UNIONS: TEACHER

Seattle Education Assn  
Summit Uniserv Council  
WA Education Assn  
WA Federation of Teachers

UNIONS: TRADE

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers  
Brotherhood of Maintenance Way Employees  
Communications Workers of America  
District Council of Carpenters  
Hotel & Restaurant Employees  
Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers  
Int'l Federation of Prof/Tech Engineers  
Int'l Union of Engineers 609  
Joint Council of Teamsters #28  
Local 881 Fisheries Patrol Bargaining Unit  
Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn  
Masters, Mates & Pilots  
N WA & Alaska Area Council APPW  
Puget Sound District Council  
Service Employees Int'l Union  
Tobacco Industry Labor Management Committee  
Transportation-Communications Union  
United Food & Commercial Workers  
United Transportation Union  
WA St Building & Construction Trades  
WA St Labor Council, AFL-CIO  
WA St Transit Leg Bd of ATU

UTILITIES: BROADCAST

WA St Assn of Broadcasters  
WA St Cable Communications Assn

UTILITIES: ELECTRIC

City of Tacoma Public Utilities  
Clark County Public Utility District  
Mason County PUD #3  
Pacific Power & Light Co  
Pierce County Cooperative Power  
Puget Sound Power & Light Co  
Snohomish County PUD  
WA Public Power Supply System

UTILITIES: ELECTRIC

WA Public Utility District Assn  
WA Rural Electric Cooperatives  
WA St Rural Electric Assn  
WA Water Power Co

UTILITIES: TELEPHONE

AT&T Communications  
Continental Telephone of the NW  
General Telephone of the NW  
McCaw Cellular Communication  
MCI Telecommunications Corp  
RXL Communications  
Tracer  
United Telephone Co of the NW  
US Metrolink Co  
US Sprint Telecommunications  
US West Communications  
US West Newvector Group Inc  
WA Independent Telephone Assn

UTILITIES: WATER & WASTE

Allied Technology Group  
American Ecology Corp  
Burlington Environmental Inc  
Chemical Processors, Inc  
Chemical Waste Management  
Citizens for Clean Air  
Citizens For Responsible Recycling  
Clark County Disposal  
Coalition for Clean Water  
Council for Solid Waste Solutions  
Heart of America NW  
Int'l Pesticide Applicators  
Land Recovery Inc  
MMI Group  
Nat'l Assn for Plastic Container Recovery  
NW Renewable Resources Center  
Rabanco  
SW Suburban Sewer Dist  
The Pacific NW Chapter Institute Scrap  
US Ecology  
WA Citizens for Recycling  
WA St Assn of Water/Wastewater Districts  
WA St Recycling Assn  
WA St Water Resources Assn  
WA Waste Management Assn  
WA Waste Systems, Inc  
Waste Management Inc  
Waste Management of North America  
Wheelabrator Environmental Systems

SOURCES OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND COMMITTEES, 1988  
(\$500 or more to gubernatorial candidates; \$150 or more to all others)

	To state executive candidates	To state legislative candidates	To initiative committees	To caucuses and state parties	TOTALS
INTEREST CATEGORIES:					
Advertising/Print media	8,100	12,770	0	1,425	22,295
Agriculture	27,063	42,453	8,500	5,333	83,349
Amusements	13,030	61,520	0	8,905	83,455
Business, general	3,088	384,226	10,960	5,890	404,164
Business, unclassified	24,442	19,604	4,400	11,025	59,471
Commercial services	59,533	67,753	6,408	15,601	149,295
Construction	71,640	168,049	19,550	21,081	280,320
Education	5,311	13,364	0	4,665	23,340
Finance	265,781	193,897	59,000	78,275	596,953
Fisheries	19,739	34,044	150	975	54,908
Food/beverage/lodging	57,141	103,986	3,000	21,775	185,902
Forest/wood products	129,157	103,352	145,385	37,494	415,388
Governmental	0	200	0	6,215	6,415
Health care: facilities	8,675	62,575	0	30,220	101,470
Health care: insurance	6,425	40,350	0	16,560	63,335
Health care: products	5,938	6,400	0	750	13,088
Health practitioners	39,665	406,596	0	40,233	486,494
Insurance	66,681	91,266	10,500	42,203	210,650
Law\justice	93,692	224,976	28,470	22,740	369,878
Manufacturing	81,924	195,286	298,200	39,480	614,890
Mining	0	800	250	0	1,050
Petroleum	25,181	149,164	503,553	32,826	710,724
Real estate/development	138,803	133,110	3,330	15,435	290,678
Recreation/leisure:arts	0	600	0	0	600
Recreation/leisure:outdoor	6,924	10,645	15,282	175	33,026
Religious organizations	0	248	549	0	797
Retailing	37,128	66,206	4,100	4,450	111,884
Social/civic/fraternal orgns	24,154	41,072	163,422	12,925	241,573
Transportation: air	3,500	2,550	13,000	1,000	20,050
Transportation: land	91,921	124,561	64,600	28,580	309,662
Transportation: marine	18,675	3,150	16,000	4,530	42,355
Unions: public employee	94,198	405,370	8,000	36,780	544,348
Unions: teacher	124,661	198,292	500	26,130	349,583
Unions: trade	172,486	449,973	85,493	74,275	782,227
Utilities: broadcast	4,000	31,863	0	1,885	37,748
Utilities: electric	24,587	99,844	30,000	23,991	178,422
Utilities: telephone	55,236	106,419	16,500	52,691	230,846
Utilities: water&waste	1,950	22,000	4,000	5,335	33,285
OTHER SOURCES:					
Lobbying firms	45,776	50,732	1,050	49,555	147,113
Democratic party & caucuses	81,088	320,639	10,250	263,889	675,866
Republican party & caucuses	152,702	437,283	0	349,893	939,878
Transfers	132,226	583,842	12,147	84,576	812,791
Individuals:					
Biggest repeat donors	404,505	57,600	3,000	348,515	813,620
Other individuals	1,320,373	682,101	46,089	664,646	2,713,209
Candidates' own funds	219,638	225,884			445,522
TOTALS FROM MAJOR SOURCES	4,166,737	6,436,615	1,595,638	2,492,927	14,691,917
UNANALYZED SMALL CONTRIBUTIONS	2,218,502	2,308,707	167,283	not computed	